

A PHILOSOPHY FOR THE POLICE

By the Same Author

Civil Defence in Orissa

Compensation Claims on the Railways

Civil Disturbances

A PHILOSOPHY FOR THE POLICE

B. N. MULLIK



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**DEDICATED
TO THE MEMORY OF MY LATE WIFE PROTIMA MULLIK**

She loved the police more than I did. She moved more easily than I could among policemen either in India or abroad. She was moved more deeply than I by every suffering and humiliation of the police anywhere in the country. She thought of the police families more than I ever did.

In marriage she had taken the vow to be the 'Dhruva' in my life. She was that always and in all circumstances. She led me by the hand across many slippery paths of temptation. When I was weak she gave me strength. She sacrificed her comforts and even her health so that I could be straight.

All the proceeds of this book are permanently donated to the Protima Mullik Hospitals for police families at Bhopal and other places.

Foreword

To the limited literature that we have on Police, Shri B.N. Mullik's 'A Philosophy for the Police' is a very welcome addition. It breaks new ground as it not only analyses the origin, the growth and the motivation for a Police force but sets it into a new and revealing perspective of social morality.

The history of the Police through various stages of its growth and the perspective of its further development in various directions have been very well brought out in the book. The entire book and particularly the few chapters dealing with the philosophy of the police force and in that context, its duties and responsibilities, carry a distinct impress of a mind at once upright, just and deeply religious.

We are passing through a peculiar phase in the history of our country. There is a tendency to take to violence on the slightest excuse or grievance. A communal disturbance is the ugliest form of such violence. In such circumstances, the Police must be clear about their duties. They must be disciplined in their work and secular in their outlook. An individual policeman may belong to a particular region, follow a particular religion and speak a particular language. But these considerations should not affect the way in which he discharges his duties. I am sure, Shri Mullik's 'A Philosophy for the Police' will make a distinct contribution in bringing up the Police force in a proper manner.

Y.B. CHAVAN,
Minister for Home Affairs

Introduction

I joined the Indian Police in 1927. For the first fourteen months I received training in the Police Training College at Hazaribagh in Bihar. I learnt Law, Police Procedure, Accounts, Drill, Equitation and Musketry and something about Man Management and Discipline but nothing about Police History and Philosophy. After leaving the College, I became engrossed in executive and administrative work, and, though I read a lot on various subjects like Religion, Science, History, Politics and Literature and also a few books on Police History (mostly of the British Police), I did not come across any book on Police Philosophy.

From an early part of my service, particularly when I was doing earthquake relief work or reformation of criminal tribes, I started thinking about the philosophy of police work. To get guidance on this subject I explored the 'Manu Samhita' and Kautilya's 'Arthashastra'; and though these gave good guidance on police work and penology, I did not find anything about police philosophy in them. I continued my research on this subject and read a good deal of ancient Indian history and also the references to the police in the Vedas and the Upanishads, but the philosophy continued to elude me.

At every stage of my work, whether I was doing plain administrative or executive work in my district, controlling crime or maintaining order, whether I was doing social service work or directing civil defence (in Orissa), my search for a philosophy for police work continued, and, in course of time, from the experience gained by me in the practical field, the idea dawned in my mind. This gradually took shape as I progressed in my life. Working during the communal holocaust of 1946, I also formed ideas about what the police attitude should be towards religion and minorities and what they should do when they found the majority of the people hostile to

them. When, in 1947, I was posted as the Principal of the Police Training College, I got time to put down my thoughts on police philosophy and these form the basis of this book.

I learnt practical police work from Sri A.K. Sinha, who taught me the need of accuracy, promptness and punctuality in police work and of integrity, uprightness and discipline. From my wife I learnt the value of honesty, kindness and service to people. The writings of Swami Vivekananda and Dr. Tagore influenced me considerably, and in this book I have used some poems of Tagore (for which permission has been obtained from the Vishwa Bharati authorities). In Delhi, I worked closely with two of the greatest men of modern times—Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Dr. Radhakrishnan—and their views and teachings have gone into the final shaping of this philosophy. I have used several quotations from Pandit Nehru's speeches (with the permission of the Indian Police Journal, in which they were published). I have also drawn heavily from Dr. Radhakrishnan's 'The Bhagwat Gita' and he has kindly permitted me to do so.

It is natural that, knowing more about the religion preached by the Bhagwat Gita than by other religious books, I have based my philosophy on the Gita, but the principles enunciated herein are applicable as much to the police in an Islamic, Christian or Buddhist country as in India. I have used references from books of other religions also as far as possible from my limited knowledge, but naturally the main basis of my thinking has been the Bhagwat Gita.

After 1947, when I had planned this book, I continued my study of the subject but I never had the time to write down a complete treatise. On my retirement from the Indian Police in October, 1964, I got the leisure and I am glad I have been able to complete the book at last.

I express my thanks to Sri Y.B. Chavan, Union Minister for Home Affairs, for writing the Foreword. I am grateful to my

friend, Sri K.F. Rustamji, for having carefully gone through the first draft and giving many suggestions which have contributed to its improvement. I also thank my Personal Assistant, Sri D.P. Bharadwaj, for having typed the entire draft many times over and Sri B.D. Jain, Editor of the Indian Police Journal, for doing the proof reading and helping in the press.

Though several other services were open to me, I tumbled on to the Indian Police accidentally; but I never looked back, nor did I ever regret the accident. I have loved the police as few have done, and the police pervades my entire thinking and living. The police have also given me much love, trust and, above all, indulgence.

I leave this book as my testament to the Indian Police.

B.N. MULLIK

New Delhi,

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Origin of the Police

आहारनिद्रामयमैथुनञ्च
सामान्यमेतत् पशुभिर्नराणाम् ।
धर्मो हि तेषामधिको विशेषः
धर्मेण हीनाः पशुभिः समानाः ॥

—Sri Sitaramdas Onkarnath in
“Sri Sri Purushottam Lila”

Hunger, sleep, fear and sex; these are common to man and animal, both being equally susceptible to them. How can a man be known from an animal? By ‘Dharma’. Man observes ‘Dharma’, animal does not. A man without ‘Dharma’ is an animal in human form.

Nature endows every animal with certain instincts of self-preservation and continuation of its species. The governing instincts in an animal’s life are hunger, sleep, fear and sex. Hunger makes the animal eat, and, as soon as its hunger is satisfied, the animal ceases eating. It does not collect or preserve anything for future use. Sleep comes to the animal as soon as its hunger is satisfied and it wakes up when it is hungry. Fear makes it hide or run away or fight in self-defence, and this is also for the sake of preserving itself. Its sexual impulse is seasonal, and as soon as this is satisfied it does not think of it any longer. Sex for the animal is required only for the continuation of the species. In other words, thinking and reasoning do not govern the actions of any animal. His actions are all instinctive. Finer feelings like love, pity or even baser feelings like hatred or anger do not

make any appreciable impression on the animal's mind, nor do they influence its actions much.

A man, who is a member of the animal kingdom, has all these instinctive urges, but his actions are not governed entirely by them. When man slowly emerged from animalhood, he developed the power of reasoning and thinking. With this power of analysis, he slowly learnt to modify his instinctive urges and even to conquer them entirely. He could analyse and understand the causes which tended to drive him towards a particular course of action. Hunger was no longer an instinctive urge. He knew its reason and how to satisfy it, found out what was best for his health, provided for it and regulated his actions regarding the procurement of food on the basis of this knowledge. He realised that sleep was necessary for his health and he regulated the periods which sleep should alternate with work. Fear similarly was not an abstract phenomenon for him. He learnt what were the dangers facing him and he took precautions for self-protection and defence. Similarly, sex was not a seasonal affair with him. He could regulate his sex and even completely control his sexual urges. Once man came to be endowed with the power of reasoning and analysis, he could no longer be kept fastened by his animal instincts to a pre-determined path of life and he started making his own experiments to improve both himself and his conditions of living.

One of the earliest discoveries which man made was the necessity and utility of collective life. Physically he was one of the weaker animals, and he realised that he could survive only if he could group himself with others of his kind. When he developed emotions of love, affection and pity, such grouping came about naturally. The man, his wife and his children formed one compact unit to work jointly against outside hostile forces, either elemental or animal. This attachment to one's mate and offspring in its most developed form is peculiar only to man and does not exist in other animals. However, this family unit was not enough, and one small family was not able to do all that was necessary to overcome both the physical handicaps of man and the great elemental dangers that always confronted him. He learnt that

what he could not do alone several men acting together could do, and when a single man's strength failed, the strength of many could be harnessed together to achieve the objective. He also found that he could not only pool strength but he could also pool knowledge and experience. In this realisation of the imperativeness of collective effort, lay the germs of the original society, in which man, working in groups, pooling strength and knowledge, profiting by experience and using imagination and thought, could at last overcome many of his physical handicaps and not only assert his supremacy in the animal kingdom but, to some extent, control even nature. He realised that this was the only way he could maintain his superiority and progress.

However, with the formation of such social groups, other traits developed in man, those of greed, lust and anger. If someone did not share all his acquisition with others, the rest tried to take it away by force or deceit and thus quarrels and enmities would start. Whilst on the one hand man was trying to live together with others of his species, for the sake of not only self-preservation but also gaining mastery over nature, on the other hand he was confronted with the emergence of these base characteristics in him which had the effect of pulling the social groups apart and dragging man back to his old savage animal state. By use of his reasoning and thinking he realised that unless these base desires were conquered he could not grow. He also found that unless the groups remained united and worked to a common aim there was no chance of the groups themselves surviving.

It followed that if he was to exist at all, he must repress his animal instincts and he must continually improve himself by holding in rein his baser instincts and desires and repressing his feelings of anger, lust, hatred and pride. When this realisation fully developed, whenever his desires goaded him to do a particular work, his reason put a brake on him, and he asked himself if such an action was good for himself, for his family and for his society. So started the eternal struggle between man's desires and his reason, between man the animal and man the human being, between man's impulses directed by nature and man's discretion created by his

power of reasoning, and between man's base desires and his higher feelings. It was as a result of this continuous struggle to keep the animal in check, that man was forced into a course of introspection to seek out the true way of human behaviour and the meaning of human existence. From the realisation of this truth, he slowly developed a code of conduct or a philosophy of life which reached its sublimest forms in the great religions of this world.

The qualities which a man should steadfastly cultivate in order to elevate himself and free himself from his base desires and the weaknesses and faults which a man must avoid as they pull him down towards destruction have been very clearly explained in the Bhagwat Gita. The good qualities which man required, Sri Krishna told Arjuna, were:—

अमयं सत्त्वसंशुद्धिर्ज्ञानयोगव्यवस्थितिः ।
 दानं दमश्च यज्ञश्च स्वाध्यायस्तप आर्जवम् ॥
 अहिंसा सत्यमक्रोधस्त्यागः शान्तिरपैशुनम् ।
 दया भूतेष्वलोलुप्त्वं मार्दवं ह्रीरचापलम् ॥
 तेजः क्षमा धृतिः शौचमद्रोहो नातिमानिता ।
 भवन्ति सम्पदं दैवीमभिजातस्य भारत ॥

(Bhagwat Gita—CH.XVI, 1, 2 & 3)

“Fearlessness, purity of mind, wise apportionment of knowledge and concentration, charity, self-control and sacrifice, study of the scriptures, austerity and uprightness;

“Non-violence, truth, freedom from anger, renunciation, tranquillity, aversion to fault finding, compassion to living beings, freedom from covetousness, gentleness, modesty and steadiness (absence of fickleness);

“Vigour, forgiveness, fortitude, purity, freedom from malice and excessive pride—these, O Pandava (Arjuna), are the endowments of him who is born with divine nature”.

On the other hand, bad qualities were described by Sri Krishna as:

दम्भो दर्पोऽभिमानश्च क्रोधः पाश्व्यमेव च ।
 अज्ञानं चाभिजातस्य पार्थ सम्पदमासुरीम् ॥

(Bhagwat Gita—Ch.XVI, 4)

“Ostentation, arrogance and self-conceit, anger as also harshness and ignorance, belong to one who is born, O Partha, for an ‘Asurika’ (demoniac) state.”

Sri Krishna further said—

दैवी सम्पद्धिमोक्षाय निबन्धायासुरी मता ।

(Bhagwat Gita—Ch. XVI, 5)

“The divine endowments are said to make for deliverance and the demoniac for bondage”.

The forbidden paths were threefold:—

त्रिविधं नरकस्येदं द्वारं नाशनमात्मनः ।

कामः क्रोधस्तथा लोभस्तस्मादेतत्त्रयं त्यजेत् ॥

(Bhagwat Gita—Ch.XVI, 21)

“Triple is the gateway of this hell, destructive of the self,—lust, anger and greed; therefore one should forsake these three.”

If one could forsake these three gates of hell he could attain real freedom:—

एतैर्विमुक्तः कौन्तेय तमोद्वारैस्त्रिभिर्नरः ।

आचरत्यात्मनः श्रेयस्ततो याति परां गतिम् ॥

(Bhagwat Gita—Ch.XVI, 22.)

“The man who is released from these three gates of darkness, O son of Kunti (Arjuna), does what is good for his soul and then reaches the highest state”.

This then was the ideal which man set before himself in his personal life and which he continually strove to attain.

As groups and societies grew up in different parts of the world and in different environments and diverse types of challenges confronted them, the forms of religion changed from place to place

but man's experience and search for truth taught him the same essences wherever he was, i.e., to forsake lust, anger, greed and pride as they generated evil propensities and led him to the gates of hell. So the teachings of all the great religions laid down similar codes of conduct, behaviour and living for the people who came in their respective folds. By the strict adherence to any of these codes man could conquer his baser desires and advance towards his goal of perfection. It is in the quest of this power to gain ascendancy over his base desires that men professing different faiths have practised the highest forms of 'tapasya', and even reached Buddhahood.

But individual improvement was not enough. If every person followed his own individualistic path and was anxious for his own 'Nirvana' only, without caring for what happened to the rest of the humanity, then he would deal a mortal blow at the very root of society. If all good men escaped leaving society in charge of only imperfect and bad men, then the society would itself be an 'Asurika' society—each individual living only for himself. This, however, was not the scheme of things as designed by God. Hence in the Hindu way of thinking, God himself incarnates time after time to restore balance in society when it gets unbalanced due to the predominance of the base qualities. The concept of Bodhisattwa in Buddhism is the same. Buddha after attaining 'Nirvana' does not escape but returns again and again to shepherd the rest of the flock to the path of liberation. Avatamsaka Sutra says—"For as much as there is the will that all sentient beings should be altogether made free, I will not forsake my fellow creatures" (Ananda Coomaraswamy in 'Buddha and Gospel of Buddhism'). Christianity also believes that Lord Christ was sent by God to rescue humanity. Bhagwan Ramakrishna Paramhansa during his illness when asked why He, an Incarnation of God, had to suffer from illness and pain explained that God when He came to the earth passed through all the different aspects of a man's life and accepted the pain and sorrows of human life to exhibit His oneness with men whom He had come to deliver from sins. Swami Vivekananda when asked what he would aspire to be in his next birth, characteristically replied—

"May I be born again and again and suffer thousand miseries, so that I may worship the only God that exists, the only God I believe in, the sum total of all souls". The lesson of all these teachings is that individuals must not try for their own liberation only as this is selfishness but must work along with the mass of humanity—rich or poor, good or wicked, wise or ignorant, to lead the entire community step by step out of pain and suffering into a better and higher life.

Good bricks are needed to make a good house, but they alone cannot make it, they must be held together by a binding material. otherwise they will fall apart in heaps and deteriorate. Similarly, though society must consist of good individuals, but they by themselves do not make for a strong society unless they function collectively and create conditions of social security. Without this social security which requires the willing co-operation of all, society would disintegrate and be ultimately overwhelmed by animals and nature. Social security is as essential for the practising of self-improvement by individuals as virtue in individuals is for the existence of society. For attaining social security, there must be collective action by all, and to secure collective effort, each person in a society has to be allotted a specific task and he must do it according to the requirements and his capacity. The allotted task of some may be harder than that of others; some may have to do more brain work; others may perform more physical labour; some may require special skills; others strength; but each must stick to the allotted work and must not encroach on that of others—if the combined social task is to be properly done. This can be easily illustrated by comparing society with a football team. Each of the eleven players in the team has his allotted position and task according to his special skill and aptitude. If one player leaves his position or strays from it, he weakens the team as a whole. And if none adheres to his position or task, then there is no team or society and such a group is bound to be defeated in the struggle for existence.

Therefore for man to remain a civilised human being there are two essential requirements. On the one hand he must continually

strive to improve himself by getting rid of his 'Asurika', i.e., base desires and urges and cultivating 'Divine', i.e., godly qualities, and on the other he must function as a component part of society and accept any work which is allotted to him with due regard to his qualification and aptitude and do it well with all attention and devotion. If he is discontented, if he neglects his allotted task and hankers after another without acquiring the necessary skill, he is being driven by his 'Asurika' tendencies and such a tendency is neither good for himself nor for the society for which he works and which works for him. It is this realisation that the individual could exist only if the society did and any weakening of the society would recoil heavily on individuals that inspires a man to volunteer willingly for the highest form of self-sacrifice for the good of the society.

If everyone developed 'Divine' qualities and worked for the common good, all would be well. But this was not so and there were always people in different stages of development and 'Asurika' qualities of lust, greed and anger in individuals went on bedevilling society and obstructed its smooth functioning. Unless these divisive tendencies could be curbed there was no hope for the society to exist and develop. Hence it became necessary to observe conventions or social rules to regulate the functioning of the individuals in society. Thus grew the "Smrities" (of India) which were but authoritative pronouncements of sages laying down codes of human conduct in society. These were conventions or rules which were not arbitrarily laid down but which grew out of centuries of vicissitudes and sufferings and which had been proved by experience to be essential for the man to follow if society had to be preserved and developed. As man developed in different parts of the world and societies were formed in different environments and different challenges confronted them, the texts of such conventions which grew in different areas were different; and we have the ancient code of Hamurabi or the Ten Commandments of the Bible to guide people in other parts of the world. But like the essential unity of all great religions, the essence of all these different conventions was the same and they imposed similar restrictions and extolled the same virtues though in different words.

Moral compulsion worked upto a limit but as human society went on expanding, this was not found to be enough to restrain individuals who, driven by lust, greed or anger, would violate the social conventions to satisfy their own desires. So some other form of physical compulsion became necessary. In a simple agricultural society, it was possible to secure the observance of these codes by social ostracism and the transgressor could easily be brought to his senses by denying him social services. But as gradually society became more complex, this simple remedy became inapplicable because the individual could defy the pronouncements of any particular group by leaving that group and associating himself with another. Unless such transgressors could be checked, sanctity of the codes formulated after centuries of experience would be lost and more and more persons would be tempted to defy them and thus bring about a state of confusion and disequilibrium. Hence though the codes had been originally formulated for voluntary observance, they were gradually made more rigid and even given the sanction of religion to bring about a certain amount of compulsion in regulating man's behaviour in society. Such codes appeared in different countries and though they were textually different, yet they all aimed at the same direction, i.e., to prevent the individual from doing anything which would harm the society and to secure proper distribution of services and material goods for the welfare of the mass of people.

Thus religion and social codes were the twin forces which guided every action and even thought of the civilised man. Religion helped him to improve himself as a man, to discard his 'Asurika' tendencies and to develop his 'Divine' qualities. Social code kept a man in society, made him observe all the social conventions and exert collectively with others to secure higher and higher benefits for all and thus strengthen society itself. Both were necessary for man's existence. Submergence of any one of them would lead to his destruction as well as the destruction of society.

But in spite of all his efforts at self-improvement and all the restrictions which society imposed on him, man remained basically an animal and his baser desires continually tried to overcome his

better ones. He had to be perpetually on guard. Basing himself firmly on religion, he had to analyse continuously if his desires and his consequent actions were in the right direction. This continuous analysis, this eternal vigilance in respect of every action or thought developed in him what is called his conscience, which acted as the watchman over himself, i.e., he developed his own policeman. It is not possible to trace the growth of this conscience or watchman in man to any particular stage of his development. From the moment man emerged from his savage state and started using his power of reason to discriminate between right and wrong, from the moment he started questioning his impulses and restraining his desires, he became the watchman over his own animal spirit, that is, in other words, he became his own policeman. Every time his desires goaded him to a particular course of action which his reason told him was wrong, every time his impulse drove him to a particular direction which on analysis he found would be destructive for himself, his conscience, that is the policeman in him, came to his rescue and drew him away from the path of wrong and set him on the path of right.

In the social field also, whenever man's desires tempted him to do anything, he was restrained by the thought whether such action would be good for his family or for the society. If he was carried away by his own impulses without caring for others, he would injure the society which he had helped to form for his own security and well-being. So when a man wanted to do something, he simultaneously questioned himself, often unconsciously, whether that act would be good for his family or his society, as he realised that both these must live and prosper even for his own self-existence. But his old animal habits still tended to make him individualistic and often tempted him to do things which on proper thinking he found were not good either for his family or for the society as a whole. Thus whenever his impulse urged him to act in a particular way, he analysed and reasoned whether that act would be right. He thus developed in himself again another type of vigilance which made him reason out every act he did, to determine whether it was good or bad for the society; and in this way he developed in

himself his social conscience or civic sense; in other words, he developed his own watchman or policeman to guide his actions as a member of the civilised society. He not only had to take care of his own actions but it was necessary for him to ensure, as far as it was within his power, that those whom he could influence also acted in like spirit. Every time a father chided his son for playing truant or the mother advised her daughter on good behaviour, every time a teacher taught students in a class or a preacher taught religion, he or she was acting as the family or the social policeman either to improve the conduct of persons in his or her charge or to prevent lapses in social conduct. Similarly when any member of a society detected transgressions of social conventions or laws by another member or even prevented their occurrence, he was acting as a policeman on behalf of the society.

It is the conscience in his personal life or the civic sense in his social life which acts as the eternal policeman in man. In one direction, this policeman in man helps him to ascend to the highest step of the ladder leading to godliness and in the other it inspires him to do the highest form of sacrifice for the good of society. It is this policeman in man which stands eternally at the cross-roads of right and wrong, barring the path to the wrong and pointing the path to the right. Without the constant vigilance and the directing hand of the policeman, man would degenerate into an animal and society would disintegrate, and without the policeman's guiding influence man could not conquer the animal in him and society would not prosper as a corporate body.

Hence the birth of the policeman in man is to be traced to the earliest times when man started emerging from his savage animalhood and, using his power of reasoning and thought, realised the need of self-improvement and the benefits of family and corporate life. It is the policeman in man which has guided him through the vicissitudes and sufferings over thousands of years and helped him to develop both individually and as an integral part of the society. And the policeman in man must function continuously so long as man wants to live a cultured life in a civilised society.

Police in Human Society

Just as the growth of consciousness and the development of the power of reasoning and thinking provided man with the first break-through from his original savage state and placed him in a class above other animals, his discovery of the usefulness of collective action provided him with the second big break-through from his uncivilised state and gave him power to acquire mastery over other animals and to harness nature to his advantage. It is true that some animals do live in herds, but the animal herd should be distinguished from a human society. The herd is a collection of many animals of the same species, whose collective effort, if there be any, does not in any way contribute to the improvement of their material or moral conditions. Herding takes place purely from the instinct of self-preservation. As distinguished from the herd, man's social group pooled experience and knowledge, acquired ingenuity and skill, planned work, made new discoveries and inventions, thereby not only improving the material and moral conditions of every member belonging to the group but also its collective strength and intelligence.

The first group that came into existence was the family when man acquired a mate and had children and they all lived together under the leadership of the father or the mother. Children grew up, took mates, had their own children; and yet the group remained, and, so long as there was sufficient food available, the group went on multiplying and expanding its area of habitation. In this process, it came across other family groups expanding in the same way and sometimes coalesced by matrimony or otherwise and formed bigger groups. These groups went on expanding, driving other animals before them or domesticating them, harnessing

nature, raising their standard of living and improving their health and ultimately formed themselves into tribes—each tribe living in a particular geographical area. In olden days when conditions of living were extremely difficult, the groups lived in clusters, and when they learnt to make artificial shelters or houses for themselves, they formed villages. There was no inclination to leave the village, because man's safety lay only in living together and close to each other. This tribal life continued for many hundreds of years; and, if one village site was too small, new sites were acquired but all in the same geographical area. When sufficient good land and means of living were available as in a fertile valley, large bodies lived together and formed towns thus originating the first city states. Necessity forced a tribe to forage into bigger areas, and this brought it in contact with other tribes. When there was no clash of economic or other interests, the tribes coalesced to form even bigger units, but when the interests clashed, there were fights till the weaker was driven out from the locality or forcibly absorbed in the stronger one. But whatever was the process, union or war, peaceful co-existence or forcible absorption, the process of expansion went on continuously. Forces of nature were harnessed, larger areas were cleared for cultivation and habitation, more animals were either domesticated and made completely subordinate to man's will or driven further into remote and inaccessible areas, in which process many species of animals became extinct, and ultimately the only safe places where wild animals could live with certain amount of security were the forest reserves where they lived as museum pieces at the mercy of man—from the beginning their mortal enemy. This absolute supremacy in the animal kingdom was won only by the virtue of collective action lasting over thousands of years. Equally spectacular were man's achievements in harnessing the forces of nature. Rivers were dammed, hills were cut through for passage, swamps were cleared, diseases subdued, communications opened till the entire human race became almost one single unit. This was also possible only through collective action and pooling of knowledge and experience. If at any stage during this process of development, man gave up collective thinking and working, all

progress would come to a standstill and it would not take more than a few generations for man to revert back to his savage state from which he had advanced after thousands of years of constant effort.

Collective action presupposed that different persons in a group would voluntarily perform different tasks required for the good of the group as a whole. The father hunted, the mother cooked, children fetched firewood or water and thus the family life went on. When, of course, the groups were small and the tasks were simple, everyone more or less qualified in every type of work; but as the groups became bigger and more complicated tasks were undertaken on behalf of the group as a whole, it was discovered that higher skills were necessary and these could be acquired only if certain people were left to specialise in certain specific jobs and not become jack of all trades. A soldier had to fight for the protection of the tribe and acquired skill in fighting. A blacksmith had to forge the weapons with which the soldier would fight, and he had to acquire skill in this work. Someone had to grow food; someone had to do the work of a carpenter; some wove cloth; others were better in the procurement and distribution of commodities. Society required people to teach morals and codes as they were developed. If the blacksmith did not do his work, plough shears would not be prepared and cultivation would be impossible; if the carpenter did not work, no houses could be built. A blacksmith's son seeing his father at work acquired the latter's skill and even improved on that, and a soldier's son wanted to emulate the fighting qualities of his father. In this division of labour lay the foundation of the caste system in India, and this was so important for the preservation of society that Sri Krishna gave His blessings by saying:—

चातुर्वर्ण्यं मया सृष्टं गुणकर्मविभागशः

(Bhagwat Gita—Ch. IV, 13)

“The fourfold order was created by Me according to the divisions of quality and work.”

The emphasis, it is to be noted, is on ‘Guna’ (aptitude) and

'Karma' (work) and not on 'Jati' (birth). A class determined by temperament and vocation is not a caste determined by birth. Dr. Radhakrishnan says—"The fourfold order is designed for human evolution. There is nothing absolute about the caste system which has changed its character in the process of history. Today it cannot be regarded as anything more than an insistence on a variety of ways in which the social purpose can be carried out. Functional groupings will never be out of date and as for marriages they will happen among those who belong to more or less the same stage of cultural development".—'The Bhagwat Gita'.

Hence the caste system was meant to be a functional division to enable people to acquire higher and higher skills in their respective fields for the good of the society. People divided themselves into these classes and castes voluntarily. There was no arbitrary decision; one liked a particular type of work and he acquired skill in it, transmitted it to his sons and grandsons and even to others who wanted this skill and they formed one caste and thus the human society grew, each man working on a task voluntarily accepted or allotted to him. So long as the society was small, voluntary division of labour was enough; but when society became complex, this division of work had to be done by the society as a whole or by some superior authority. Whether voluntarily accepted or given by the society, it was necessary that each man's task was properly carried out. Unless this performance by each one in society of his allotted task could be secured, no collective action or united effort would be possible and the society would lose its cohesiveness and start disintegrating. So vital was the need for each person to attend to his specified task and not stray to pastures new that Sri Krishna Himself declared that even one's own inferior work was better than other's superior work and that it was better to die in one's own work rather than aspire to get hold of that of others.

श्रेयान् स्वधर्मो विगुणः परधर्मात् स्वनुष्ठितात् ।

स्वधर्मे निधनं श्रेयः परधर्मो भयावहः ॥

(Bhagwat Gita—Ch. III, 35)

“Better is one’s own Dharma (work) though imperfect, than the Dharma of another well-performed. Better is death in one’s own Dharma, the Dharma of another is fraught with fear”.

Dr. Radhakrishnan in ‘The Bhagwat Gita’ explains this as follows: “There is more happiness in doing one’s own work even without excellence than in doing another’s duty well. Each one must try to understand his psychological make-up and function in accordance with it. It may not be given to all of us to lay the foundations of systems of metaphysics or clothe lofty thoughts in enduring words. We have not all the same gifts, but what is vital is not whether we are endowed with five talents or only one but how faithfully we have employed the trust committed to us. We must play our part manfully, be it great or small. Goodness denotes perfection of quality. However distasteful one’s duty may be, one must be faithful to it even unto death”. Hence division of labour according to aptitude and skills and each person sticking to his allotted task and doing his best by it are basic necessities without which the existence of society would be jeopardised.

So strong was this need of each person scrupulously performing his tasks, that society evolved conventions and moral rules for the guidance of man’s conduct in society. However, with the growth of avarice, man started committing violations of these conventions due to his anger, lust, hatred and greed. Anger and hatred led him into acts of ‘Himsa’ or violence. Greed made him deprive others of their lawful belongings. Lust made a man covet another’s woman or property. If all these tendencies were allowed to grow unchecked, society would break to pieces. So social conventions were tightened, and caste system became more and more rigid. The task which was originally taken up by an individual voluntarily was now allotted to him by society. He could not change it except in very exceptional circumstances. The conventions that had grown over centuries of experience grew into specific rules of conduct. Thus came to be codified for the Hindus the ‘Manu Samhita’, which covered every field of human activity and even prescribed penalties for transgressions. Buddhism prescribed

its own code of conduct and Christianity preached the Sermon on the Mount. Islam was a complete code of conduct for the Muslim and there was no aspect of human life which it did not touch. Protection and development of religion depended on the continued growth and strengthening of society, and protection and growth of society in their turn demanded the strict observance of conventions or codes or rules framed for that purpose and so these codes themselves acquired the sanctity of the religions out of which they had grown.

For the continued existence of society, it was absolutely necessary to secure the strict observance of these codes. If the transgressors could not be contained, then it would be impossible to regulate the functions of the society and the society would be disrupted, causing incalculable harm to the entire membership of the tribe. It was this failure to secure observance of social conventions and laws that led to the destruction and complete disappearance of innumerable tribes and societies, and it was the ability to secure their observance that gave the power of resilience to a tribe even when faced with extreme challenges and vicissitudes. Hence the observance of not only the social convention regarding the division of labour but also of the rules for the guidance of individuals in society must be secured, if the society is to endure. This observance is best secured when every member of the society is fully geared to this task and every member does his part fully both to carry out his own assigned task and to check and correct transgressions by others.

But, as social groups became bigger and bigger, it became impossible for the society as a whole to function and take action collectively with each person not only performing his assigned task but also checking transgressions by others. The need was felt of delegating the authority to somebody else, because it was easier to keep oneself tied to one's own work than to make others do theirs. The tribes found a solution by electing a leader to whom some of the functions, particularly, of the corrective and preventive type, were delegated. Quite often the strongest man in the tribe became the leader, because by his very physical power he could enforce his will on behalf of the whole tribe on any individual

transgressor. In some of the tribes the oldest or the wisest man became the leader. In other tribes, this became a collective function of what might be called a model Panchayat or a Jirga. But all these leaders or leaderships were created for the purpose of enforcing the tribal laws or conventions or, in other words, to perform the police functions on behalf of the tribe.

With more civilisation and culture spreading, the elected leader gradually assumed the mantle of a king and he took over the entire police powers on behalf of the group under his control. Of course, in the old days a kingdom was generally a small unit, often confined to a particular village or a town. It is difficult to find the geographical limits of the Great Ajodhya outside the town of Ajodhya itself. Men clustered in groups in inhabited and well-watered localities and the rest of the country was left to wild animals or 'Rakshasas'. The king protected his people or tribe from attacks by these external enemies. But his more important function was to maintain internal order and discipline. To secure the observance of these orders, they had to be given the sanction of religion and the protection and enforcement of moral or social codes became synonymous with the protection and propagation of religion itself. So the king assumed not only temporal powers but also spiritual. It was the duty of the king to protect and propagate religion, protect his subjects from attacks by external forces, look to his subjects' comforts and well-being, and secure the observance of all social conventions for the good of his kingdom as a whole. Codes and conventions, which had been formulated for voluntary observance, gradually assumed the rigidity of laws which not only defined the lines which a man must follow in practically every aspect of his life in society but also imposed penalties for transgressions. Kautilya's 'Arthashastra' is a case in point. Based on the 'Manu Samhita', it laid down not only principles of international relationship and State-craft but covered "every action of a person living in the State, and even explained the methods to be used for preventing and detecting transgressions and apprehending and bringing to trial offenders of various types and the punishments to be inflicted for different types of offences. When people talk of Ram Rajya, they think of a society where all

vices have been repressed, virtue prevails, each man does his assigned work, there are no transgressions, and the king acts unselfishly as a true representative of the people, whose delegated authority he wields in himself. Therefore, Ram Rajya is really a concept of the perfect exercise of the police functions of a State in peace, internal order and discipline.

When the area and the number of people over whom a particular king or leader ruled were both small, the king or the leader could be his own minister, judge and executioner. But when both the area and the number of people under him went on increasing, and consequently the number of disputes and transgressions, which he had to settle, became unmanageable by him alone, he had to appoint a minister or several ministers to advise him in the administration of his State and also to delegate his judicial authority to his younger brother or someone else of the royal family or another prominent person whom he appointed the judge. In these delegations lay the foundations of the present day council of ministers and legislative assemblies and the institution of a judicial system. In addition to his council of ministers and judges, he had to appoint other agents to carry out his executive functions and to apprehend delinquents, as otherwise his decisions could not be enforced. In this way, the king delegated his legislative functions to his ministers, his judicial functions to one or more judges and his executive functions to another set of people, either civilians or soldiers, volunteers or paid men, and they exercised these executive functions on behalf of the king, and in this lies the origin of organised police in human society.

It must be remembered, however, that the power which is exercised by the police is only a delegated power, given by the king or the leader who still retains that power himself and can always interfere whenever necessary and exercise that power himself. Similarly the power which the king or the leader himself exercises on behalf of the society is a delegated power which the society as a whole, that is the members of the society collectively, have delegated to the king or the leader. Hence, the power which the body of executives, i.e., the police exercises is derived from the

power which every individual of the society has, and similarly the laws which the organised police try to enforce can be no other than the laws which society itself has framed for its self-regulation after centuries of experience. An organised police is, therefore, only a projection of the police function of the society, which is but the sum total of the police functions of all individual members of the society. The organised police relieves the individual member of the society from having to discharge his police duties in his day-to-day life, so that he can carry out his own constructive work uninterruptedly.

The ability of a society to confront successfully the innumerable challenges which it faces every day from nature and from internal and external sources is entirely dependent on its power to maintain its internal order, that is on the way its police functions are performed. If a society becomes corrupted, it loses its internal cohesion and hence its power of resistance; it may collapse when a succession of challenges threatens its existence. If this internal cohesion can be maintained, the society will overcome hundreds of challenges and endure. 'Unity is strength' is not only applicable to a family but also to the society and in equal measure to the nation as a whole. And this unity in social or national life is possible only if the strict observance of all rules and laws framed for the protection and good of the society can be secured. Hence the importance of firm, correct and judicious performance of the police functions of society, and the vital position which the body of executives entrusted with police functions occupies in the social or national life. Without the guiding and restraining hand of the organised police, society will encounter heavy weather from hundreds of external and internal enemies, and it will be impossible to maintain its cohesion and unity and allow it to function as a well-knit organisation continually developing for the good of all the constituent members. Without this restraining hand, groups forming the society will fall apart, individuals will pull their weights in different directions and the society will disintegrate and ultimately face extinction. Organised police performs threefold task on behalf of the society: it protects, it integrates and it develops.

The police in society is what grammar is to language. Just



as words by themselves do not make any sense and they have to be held together and given direction by grammar, without which no thoughts can be properly expressed—and it is only through grammar that ideas can be fully developed—, similarly it is the police which holds the individuals together in society, gives them direction in their work and helps them along their path of development. Without this unifying influence, society will only be a jumble of individuals each minding his own interests as savage animals do.

Hence, if society is to endure, if human progress has to be maintained both in the spiritual and in the material fields, the society must secure for itself an organisation to which it can delegate its police functions to be exercised in accordance with the laws and conventions framed by the society, with firmness and kindness, with a sense of justice and with the zeal and spirit of a missionary. Police in one form or other has existed in society from the earliest times—and there are references to the police even in the 'Rig Veda'. And police must remain in society so long as society wants to remain civilised and progressive.

Police in the State

The word 'police' is derived from the Greek word 'politeia' or its Latin equivalent 'politia'. The other derivatives of these Greek or Latin roots are 'polity' and 'policy'.

'Politeia' stands for citizenship, or state or administration of government. The Latin root 'politia' stands for state or administration or civilisation. The corresponding French word 'polis' means city or town.

The word 'polity' signifies a body of people organised under a system of government, that is a politically organised community or a State and also the constitution or the government of the State. In other words, when a group of people will to live together, delegating some of their individual responsibilities to a State, it forms a 'polity.' They agree by a written or oral constitution or convention on the fundamental system or organisation of the government under which they will live, and the form of government will be determined by the theory on which this constitution is based, as to the objects the government will aim to accomplish, its relations with the people, and the political and civil rights it will maintain. 'Polity,' therefore, means the very constitution or the sacred agreement which the people of a country make for themselves to live together for common good and this constitution would be the highest expression of the people's will and should be the guide for all judicial, executive, developmental and other work that the State may undertake. This constitution, therefore, remains the supreme testament of the people. It expresses all the desires of the people to give themselves an orderly society in which they may secure their spiritual, moral and material advancement.

The next derivative of the word 'politia' is 'policy'. The word

'policy' means the art and manner of regulating and guiding the conduct of business of the government and the definite course of action selected to secure the aims laid down in the constitution. Therefore, policy must be based on the polity, that is the constitution of the country. It cannot go beyond the constitution, but, in conformity with the constitution, the government must carry on the administration according to the policies which it should frame for securing the aims and objects which the constitution has defined. 'Policy', therefore, means broadly the lines according to which the government should develop the country in economic, social and political matters, and should adopt in its trade and foreign relations and for its internal and external security.

The third derivative of the word 'politeia' is 'police'. The meaning of the word 'police' is the system of regulations for the preservation of order and enforcement of law and the internal government of a State, that is the regulation or control of a community or a State through the exercise of the constitutional powers of a government, specially with respect to matters affecting the general comfort, health, morals, safety and prosperity of the people. A government, in order to carry out its policies in conformity with the 'polity' of the country, must frame specific laws and regulations for regulating different aspects of public life and order. Health measures may be necessary to improve the hygienic conditions of the towns and villages; educational laws may be necessary for the development and improvement of education; economic laws may be necessary for the control of industries and trade; and laws may be necessary for the control of internal order and personal intercourse between different members of the society. All these come under the term 'police'. The government, which the people have formed, must assume powers in furtherance of the policy which it has laid down for carrying on the administration in conformity with the constitution of the country. If this power is not available to the State, then the State cannot function. This power is called the police power of a State, that is the power which is delegated to the government voluntarily by the people to maintain the general security, the general morals and conditions of social, economic and political life.

The other meaning of the word 'police' is the body of civil servants who are employed for executing the police functions of the State, that is who enforce the laws and regulations which a State frames for the good of the people in furtherance of its policy or principles.

It may seem strange that the police that one sees in the streets is but an emblem of the ideas contained in the root word 'politeia' and also personifies in itself the extension of the original idea through the three different stages of development and transmission, i.e., 'polity,' that is constitution, 'policy' of the government and the 'police, i.e., the laws which the government has framed in execution of the policy to attain the broad aims of the constitution. But this is as it should be. The intimate relationship between the organised police, the police power of the State, the policy of the government and the constitution have existed from the day when man started forming an organised society and his conscience and civic sense started functioning as the policeman for himself and for the family or for the society. It is through the experience which he gained by the proper exercise of his police faculties, that he ultimately developed society into a modern State with a large apparatus of government. But whatever be the hierarchy of the apparatus, the fundamental fact remains that it is the people themselves who delegate their police functions to the State by writing or agreeing upon a constitution to lay down the aims of the people who have agreed to live together and the objects which they want to secure. In the very framing of the constitution the experience gathered by the people from the proper exercise of their police functions plays the most predominant part, and, in fact, this is the foundation on which the constitution is based. 'The policy which a government, elected according to the constitution, follows is but the sum total of the policy which the people want the government to follow, that is which the people in the exercise of the police functions would consider to be best for themselves. In the execution of this policy, the laws and regulations which the government frames are also but the sum total of the wish of the people themselves based on the experience they have gained in the

exercise of their police functions.

Thus when people emerged from the savage state and took steps for the institution of some form of government, whether in the form of a monarchy or in the form of a democracy, they entrusted the government with the task of not only framing on their behalf laws and regulations but also of administering them, so that the greatest measure of good would accrue to the vast majority of the people living under the authority of the government. But though the government was elected and existed for the good of the people themselves, there were always seceders who, for their own selfish ends, would be on the prowl to weaken the government and bring it down, thus bringing about a state of chaos. No government enjoying the trust of the people can, whilst allowing a minority its fullest freedom of expression, allow that freedom to the extent of organising and disrupting the social order itself and, therefore, every government has to take steps not only to promote the welfare of the people but also to protect its own existence against unlawful attacks intended to lower its power and influence. Though the latter function can be performed to some extent by the army also and in emergencies the army is drawn in aid of civil power and in grave emergencies martial law may even supersede the civil authority, yet this is always a temporary phase and the civil authority has soon to be re-established to allow the normal laws to function and the social life to start moving smoothly. Hence the civil administration must be maintained and in order to do so the State must perform its police functions, that is execute laws and regulations for the preservation of order in furtherance of its basic principles of promoting the welfare of the people and the State. Indeed, as has been explained above, the very power which the government exercises in order to maintain its existence and to regulate the life of the people according to the constitution is the police power; and a State divested of its police functions cannot exist, because then it loses the very basis of its existence. So there can exist no State without police powers and a State can last only so long as it can continue to exercise its police powers efficiently.

The State exercises this power for performing its police functions through three authorities; firstly, the legislature in the form of a Parliament or Assembly; secondly, the judiciary in the form of various courts, and thirdly, through various administrative and executive bodies.

The legislative function of the Government is exercised through the Parliament or the Legislative Assembly by enacting laws and statutes. To ensure the welfare of the people, the Government first ascertains by public discussion or debates in the Parliament or in the Assembly or by collecting representative opinion or by other means what rules and regulations will be necessary for that purpose and will be acceptable to the people. The Government then brings the matter up before the Parliament or the Assembly which passes the laws and regulations laying down the norms of conduct which the individuals or the groups must follow in furtherance of that objective. These laws would secure, for the individual, justice, social, economic and political, liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship and the equality of status and of opportunity. They would bring to the individual, peace and freedom in life and safety and security from crime and disorder, prevent exploitation of the individual and ensure economic development of both the individual and the society. They would promote health, sanitation, education and employment and suppress immorality and social vices. They would ensure equality of all before law, respect for and protection of all religions and religious places, freedom of speech, right to property, right of movement and assembly; right to practise any profession and to carry on any occupation, trade or business. And, finally, these laws would protect the State from subversion by dissidents and help maintain its authority.

When the government in its legislature has framed laws and regulations for the welfare of the people, it must ensure that these laws and regulations are obeyed, that no transgressions are committed and that the transgressors are punished. Unless this is done, dissidents will be encouraged, transgressions will increase in number and volume, all the laws framed by the government will become inoperative, and the authority of the government will gradually weaken

and disappear. In fact, the people have invested in the government these very powers, that is to bring transgressors to book, and they have thus transferred their own responsibility to the government. If the government cannot stop these transgressions, it fails to discharge its most important function. Hence it must see that the transgressors are brought up before tribunals and the gravity of their offences judged and punishments inflicted suiting the nature of the offences. This is called the judicial exercise of police functions and for this purpose courts of various categories beginning from Panchayat courts and ending in the Supreme Court have been set up. All these courts arbitrate in disputes between the State and the individual, and between groups of individuals. The people do not want the State to go beyond its delegated authority, and, therefore, the courts in turn watch the exercise of power by the government itself.

There is, however, another important function of the State, intermediate between the legislative and the judicial. This is executive or administrative. When laws are framed, they have to be enforced and breaches of law have to be prevented. The law abiding must be protected so that he may get the fullest freedom to act within the bounds of society. The honest individual is to be given every facility to enjoy the benefits of his labour. Those persons who try to break the laws or regulations must be prevented from doing so and the transgressors must be brought before the courts for their trial and punishment. Therefore, the State must, in addition to its legislative and judicial machineries, have another intermediate machinery which must enforce the laws which the legislature has framed, prevent transgressions, bring the transgressors before the judicial authorities for their punishment, and, after the judicial authorities have determined the offence and passed a sentence, the administrative or executive authority has to take care of such persons and see that the punishments inflicted are actually imposed on the guilty. The law framed by the legislative department of the government remains inoperative unless there is a body to enforce it in the field and the courts would have no functions unless the executive brings transgressors before them and takes care of those who are punished.

It follows, therefore, that a State in order to discharge its administrative police functions must appoint agents to carry out these functions. It will be the duty of these agents to see that the people in general understand the various laws and enactments which have been framed to give the society the largest amount of benefits. It will be their duty to see that, though some people may not agree with these measures, all obey them. They must prevent dissidents from actually violating these orders, and when violations occur they must find out who the violators are and bring them before the judicial authorities for their trial. And when the judges pass sentences awarding punishments, these agents must see that the punishments so awarded are actually undergone. It is the duty of these agents to maintain public order and public peace and to prevent any attempt to lower the authority of the existing government.

Prevention of transgression, therefore, becomes the most important aspect of the State's police functions. Unless there are successful malaria, cholera or plague eradication schemes, simply setting up of hospitals will not cure the population of these diseases. Transgression of economic, social and criminal laws is like an epidemic which, unless prevented at the very beginning, soon gets beyond control, and hospitalisation, that is trial by judicial courts, alone cannot prevent the spread of such social diseases.

Hence though the three police functions of a State are complementary to each other and must co-exist to allow the State itself to function, the most important is the administrative function, because if a State fails to discharge its administrative police function, it ceases to exist. If there is great food shortage or maldistribution, any amount of laws will not succeed in relieving the shortage or adjusting the distribution unless there is a government machinery to look after this work. In every aspect of government regulation, the government must have an executive body of people who should actually execute in the field the governmental laws and regulations which have been framed in furtherance of government policies; and the more dangerous and difficult the situation becomes, the greater becomes the importance of the administrative

section and the importance of the legislative and the judicial sections proportionately diminishes. In great emergencies, the administrative section obscures all other sections. For example, by the issue of the Defence of India Rules, the State assumes tremendous executive powers even outside the pale of the Supreme Court for the very maintenance of its existence. At this time the State becomes practically completely identified with its executive.

Hence it is obvious that the necessity of a State to discharge its administrative function is so great, so all-pervading and so inclusive of everything else, that this power itself is called the police power and the body of civil servants who are entrusted with the execution of this function is termed as the police force or the police of the State. Just as we have found in the beginning that the police functions of a human being are inseparable from his very existence as a cultured person in a civilised society, similarly the police functions of a State and its executive arm, that is the police force, are inseparable from the State itself, which cannot exist without exercising its police functions through its police force. If one traces the causes of the failures of successive Greek City States and the Roman administration in spite of a highly developed culture and philosophy, a highly developed State and courts to administer justice, one would find that these States or administrations failed for inexplicable reasons to set up an executive police machinery to enforce the laws of the land and bring the transgressors before the courts.

The police are civil servants entrusted with the duty of preserving order and protecting life and property. They have to protect individuals against any form of oppression, victimisation or crime. They have to prevent disorder and defend society from dissidents, that is those who decline to be bound by the general standards of conduct accepted by the majority of the law-abiding. They have to remove all obstructions and impediments in the free and smooth flow of social life. They have to protect the State itself and uphold the sanctity of the constitution.

Thus the scope of police functions is enormous and unlimited. In whatever direction human conduct has to be regulated, it comes in the sphere of police functions. The police have to prevent crime

and detect criminals. They must maintain order and prevent rowdiness in any form. They must control traffic and regulate processions and assemblies. They must prevent disrespect to any religion or religious places. They must keep control on places of amusement and vice and also check smuggling and boot-legging. They must stop malpractices in trade, in weights and measurements and in rationing and distribution of food. They must protect roads, railways, fields, forests, mines, communication lines, industrial plants, irrigation canals and other sources which help the economic development of the country. They must look after public health measures, destroy wild animals and prevent cruelty to animals. They must put out fires and bring help to people during natural calamities. They must protect the poor and the weak against all types of oppression and exploitation. They must prevent forgery and counterfeiting of government currency or stamps. They have to check infiltration by hostile foreigners and prevent acts of espionage or subversion. They have to unearth conspiracies against the State. Thus the police have to enforce all laws and regulations which the government find it necessary to enact for the good of the people and the safety of the country.

The Police is, therefore, the primary constitutional force in a State for protecting the individuals in the exercise of their fundamental, legal and economic rights, for enforcing all laws which the State frames for regulating its business and its protection and for protecting and upholding the constitution itself. Indeed the police and the State are inseparable and a State can exist only by the correct use of its police powers through its organised police force.

People's Police and Ruler-Appointed Police

The police by the very nature of its origin should be a people's police, that is a body which has grown from amongst the people themselves by their voluntary contribution of labour for the guidance of individuals and the protection of society and maintaining its integrity. The ideal position would be one in which every person gave a part of his time for instructing others, correcting social evils, restraining transgressors both by moral and by physical means and bringing them to book before a people's court comprising the entire village community. This system was based on kindredship, which could exist only in villages. Here everybody was known to the other; the population was homogeneous; the villagers were often related to each other; they had lived together for generations; they shared each other's sorrows and joys; they had participated in common festivals; the wealth and means of livelihood of each villager were known to the others; and the village as a whole knew practically all the idiosyncrasic and mental aberrations of individual members. Indeed each man in the village worked in the public view of the entire village community. It was not possible for him to exist outside the purview of that community. The very fear of social ostracism in the village would restrain him from taking his aberrations to any length and generally he would voluntarily submit himself to all social rule and conventions. This estimable system still survives in some of the less developed and less populated tribal areas.

However, with the growth of modern civilisation, advance of general prosperity and village or tribal communities giving way to

large nations, and with the growth of large urban areas and huge industrial complexes, the people's police system based on kindredship became inoperative. Prosperity in the community inevitably gave rise to differences in wealth and social status and created classes and parties. Once the general sharing of wealth gave place to competition amongst members of the community for their personal advancement often at the expense of others, it was not possible any longer to ensure voluntary law observance, and so a compulsory system of law-enforcement became necessary. In a city where two persons living in adjoining houses or even in adjoining flats in the same building hardly knew each other, probably followed completely different professions in life and their venues of work lay in different parts of the town, their relatives, if any, were spread far away from each other, the kindredship which naturally developed in a village gave way to a sense of anonymity. Besides, with the opening of rapid means of communication and the availability of employment to villagers in urban areas, making it possible for an ostracised villager to leave the village and go to a town, the moral binding force of the community as a whole diminished. In such an environment the people's police system failed because its very foundation, that is kindredship, had been eroded. Moreover, another basis of the people's police system was mutual trust and confidence, the growth of which was possible only where the population was homogeneous. In urban and industrial areas where the population was heterogeneous, this trust was lacking and hence the foundation of the people's police system was non-existent.

Another factor necessary for the continued growth of the people's police system was that the country itself should have had an unchequered growth. In a country like India, which had been subjected to numerous invasions for the last one thousand years, with each invader trying to uproot the old system and transplant in its place the system which he brought with himself, it was impossible for the people's police to grow into something of a modern police force by the process of evolution. Also, where the people have large differences of religion, caste and race, as, for example, in the United States of America or South Africa or

even in large parts of India and Pakistan, the kindred police system could not operate because each person would rather support his own kinsman, that is his caste-man or the man of his own religion, colour or language, in preference to the others.

Therefore, in this world the only really unbroken system of people's police existed in Great Britain upto the beginning of the nineteenth century, because, except the Norman invasion in the eleventh century, this island country remained singularly free from any foreign invasions or occupation by foreigners. The Normans did disrupt the village system for a while, but as they themselves generally formed the upper strata of the society, the old police system soon revived and persisted in its original form and strength. The people's police of Great Britain went through various stages called 'gegildan', 'tything', etc., until the policeman came to be known as the Parish Constable. In that capacity, he attained a most respectable position and served the community extremely well so long as the country remained mostly agricultural. But, even in this highly democratic country, the people's police could not stand up to the strains of the nineteenth century industrial revolution and had to give way to a more centralised force which was the beginning of the modern British Police. Though the recruitment, training, method of work, etc., of the British Police vary little from those of the police of other countries, yet, because there had been an unbroken growth over a thousand years of the people's police and because the original idea of police being really representatives of the people has never been abandoned, and because even in the present police certain amount of local control has been maintained, it is the only country where the people recognise even the present police as a growth from the old people's police, and so a part of their own flesh and blood. Hence the great popularity of the British Police and the support and help which the police of Great Britain get from the public in every field of work, and practically the total absence of any violent opposition. In fact, there is hardly anyone so popular in Great Britain as the policeman, because the people in general see in him an emblem of all the great virtues which they have tried to cultivate for the

purpose of collective living in a cultured society and also because the police is recognised to be the protector and upholder of these virtues. It is difficult to foresee how long this popularity will endure, because with the stresses of modern living and the rise of many complicated law and order problems, the police of Gt. Britain is also gradually assuming more or less the shape of a professional police force and slowly getting away from its moorings amongst the masses, and hence the last decade has seen the rise of a fair amount of public criticism against the British Police also.

However, the strength of democracy in Gt. Britain is a reflection of the strength and incorruptibility of the police force of the country. This is not a strength acquired by adding battalions of armed police or by increasing its technical efficiency, but it has grown from the roots which the police of Great Britain have kept deep in the people themselves and the fact that the British Police have kept their activities in tune with the aspirations of the people. A people's police, grown from amongst the people, cannot be politically regimented by a ruler, and hence, even with changes of government in Great Britain and even during periods of two great wars when the British were fighting for their very existence, the British Police remained rooted in democracy and never became partisan of any particular party or political theories.

A popular police, though not exactly a people's police but yet very nearly resembling it, has been created in countries like Canada and Australia, where, after a foreign invasion, a homogeneity in population has been achieved. The police in these countries is also popular and efficient. Though the Canadian or the Australian Police cannot be considered to be a people's police, as grown out of the people, yet in creating the police force the idea was imported from Great Britain; and, though the police was appointed by the government, every attempt was made to keep its roots amongst the people. The difference in the nature of popularity of the British Police on the one hand and the Canadian or the Australian Police on the other is that in Great Britain the people consider the police as having grown out of them and so extend to them every support as they would do to their relations or children,

but the police in Australia and Canada get their popularity by honest and hard work and going down to the people to identify themselves with the latter. In the first case the police is the son of the house and so is naturally popular; and in the second he is a very honest and loyal employee in the house, who is taken almost as a member of the family.

There is yet another country, that is the United States of America, where the original idea of the people's police was taken from Great Britain and transplanted on its soil. As a great deal of homogeneity in the population had been achieved, this system must have worked well in the earlier days. But, unlike in Great Britain and Australia and Canada, the American Police did not keep pace with the tremendous economic and industrial explosion that took place in that country, with the result that its growth was arrested and here is a spectacle of a police force based on the people's police system trying most inadequately to cope with the complex problems of modern industrial life. It is buffeted by political forces, and in the process loses its popularity amongst the people but does not acquire the efficiency needed. However, even in this country, the original idea of people's police works well in at least one direction, that is in upholding the traditions of democracy.

The second type of police is the ruler-appointed police. When the ruler seized power by one means or other, he appointed a police force, by whatever name he called it, to maintain order in the area and amongst the people he ruled. The existence of such a ruler-appointed police can be traced to the earliest days of recorded history of the Egyptian or Persian civilisation. The stability and prosperity which the old Egyptian and Persian Empires achieved were due to a great measure to their securing successful law observance by instituting a body of special agents entrusted with police functions. In some of the most enlightened periods of ancient Indian history during the Maurya or the Gupta dynasties, history records the dependence of the ruler on the police force which he had appointed for law-enforcement duties. Indeed, Kautilya's 'Artha Shastra' gives a complete catalogue of police duties, and the institution of the 'Kotwal' has been interwoven

in the fabric of the Indian State since the very early times and the three most important functionaries under the king were his 'Mantri', that is the minister, 'Senapati', that is the commander of the armed forces, and 'Kotwal', the head of the police. All the three were appointed by the king himself and were removable only by him. The 'Vigiles' of the later Roman Empire of Augustus Claudius, the police system which Constantine introduced in the Byzantine Empire in the third century A.D., the system of police in Islamic Empires or the introduction of the 'Missi Dominici' of Charlemagne in France were all instances of ruler-appointed police and some of them achieved very high standards of efficiency. In continental Europe, this ruler-appointed police ultimately led to the growth of the gendarmerie, which was an armed police recruited by the Central Government and responsible to it and distributed all over the country to maintain peace and order and prevent and detect transgressions.

The weakness of the ruler-appointed police, so long as the ruler did not become completely identified with the people as happened in countries like Great Britain or Denmark, Sweden and Norway, is that the police was quite often used as the handmaid of the ruler; and, if he happened to be a tyrant, he used the police to oppress the people. Such a police then would hardly represent what in reality a police force should be. Hence, instances were common even upto the mediaeval ages where the ruler-appointed police broke down due to the people's opposition as they did not represent the people, and in a revolution both the ruler and his police force were swept away. However, the gendarmerie idea continued; and, as the governments of the European countries became more and more representative of the people and formed democracies, or when the rulers themselves became constitutional rulers, the gendarmerie, though not grown out of the people and though recruited by the Central Government, yet became the police force of the democracy, that is of the government elected by the people and not of any autocratic ruler.

This system works well where democracy has worked well as in France and the Scandinavian countries where the gendarmerie

is a very efficient law-enforcement agency, thereby winning people's confidence and trust though not love. This distinguishes the gendarmerie police from the people's police of even a country like Canada or Australia, because the gendarmerie maintains a completely separate existence which it wants the people to recognise, and hopes to get their trust or dependence by their ability to deliver the goods.

There is always one weakness in a police which does not grow out of the people but is appointed by the ruler, either in a monarchy or in a democracy. If the State assumes the form of dictatorship, the gendarmerie police lends itself to be used as an instrument of oppression by the dictatorial government. This is what happened in Soviet Russia where the Ocharana of the Czars was turned into the highly dreaded and detested OGPU or NKVD of Soviet Russia. Similarly in Italy and in Germany, the gendarmerie police was turned by the Fascist and the Nazi Governments into instruments to deprive people of their rights and liberties instead of protecting them. In Germany particularly, the gendarmerie was extensively used for the rounding up and execution of the Jews. In such cases where a police force is utilised by a dictatorship to further its own policies, which are contrary to all recognised human rights, it ceases to be a police force at all, because in all circumstances the police must be the upholder of these rights.

In a country with a monolithic type of government like Soviet Russia or China, the party in power really assumes in itself the police powers of the people and the State. As such States are based on the theory that the ruling party is the vanguard of the working classes, who are the only representatives of the people or who and nobody else are the people, and the party represents the best and the most advanced elements amongst the working classes, the party members naturally form in themselves the best policemen amongst the people. In such States, one sees the re-introduction of a form of people's police system by each individual voluntarily reporting ideological lapses either of his own or of his neighbours, a system of supervision over blocks of houses and village communities by party members and regulating their ac-

tivities. This is a people's police system working in the reverse direction. The source of inspiration is no longer in the village and it is not carried to the top through successive layers of representative councils. Here the inspiration comes from the top and is carried down to the bottom, i.e., the village through the transmission belt of the party machinery.

There is a third type of police, that is the colonial police, appointed by a foreign power to carry out the police functions in a subjugated country. This is the form of police which the British introduced in the sub-continent of India and in other parts of South-East Asia and Africa. Here the top leaders of the police force were British, though gradually even these ranks were opened for local people also. Practically the entire subordinate service consisting of several hundred thousands of policemen was locally recruited. However, one good point of the colonial police under the British was that some of the ideas of the British Police, particularly the idea that the police must have roots in the people, also came into the concepts of the Indian Police. Therefore, however oppressive this police force was in any given circumstances or at any particular time, in theory the police always remained the people's servant. The British tried further to extend this idea of people's police by developing the Chowkidari system. The Chowkidar was a replica of the Parish Constable of Great Britain. He was paid directly by the people by a separate Chowkidari Tax, recommended by the Panchayats and appointed by the magistrate. Though he was directed and guided from the top—and this was necessary by the very nature of an alien rule—, yet a modicum of a people's police system was introduced in India by the Chowkidari system, which was but a revival of the earlier police systems which had existed and which had been based on the concept of the people's police. However, the Chowkidar never rose to the heights of the Parish Constable of Great Britain and the system broke down due to neglect and apathy. The ruler-appointed Indian Police naturally came into conflict with the national liberation movements in the country and had to act on behalf of the Government, and in the process acquired a great deal of unpopularity. This still

dogs its existence. This, however, was inevitable as was the case with all the other services under the Government. Unfortunately, because the police came more in contact with the people than other services, and, naturally as the people wanted the police to side with them in their aspirations, the police got the lion's share of the unpopularity and abuse.

This weakness of the Indian Police still persists, because it has not only to uphold the Constitution and the fundamental rights of the people but also the policies and the politics of the ruling party, with which large masses of people may not sometimes or temporarily be in agreement. Hence even now the police often come into conflict with the people whenever there is any outward expression of people's resentment against any Government measure or failure by means of demonstrations and assemblies. So long as the police remain confined to the work of preventing transgressions in the social field alone and so long as they can keep themselves aloof from all political work they can maintain their popularity. But once they are brought into the political field to oppose, on behalf of the Government, demonstrations, etc., of other opposing parties, police action is bound to meet the criticism of such opposition; and, if the opposition forms a considerable section of the population, that section becomes hostile to the police. Thus when the Communist Government in Kerala tried to suppress popular movements there with its police force, the opposition groups, including the Congress, criticised the police severely; and, when the Congress Government in some other State tried to suppress Communist or other opposition movements, the police got the criticism of such groups. This, unfortunately, is a handicap of the Indian Police, from which it does not seem it will ever be possible for it to escape unless the police function in this country is confined entirely to law-enforcement in the field of social transgressions alone or unless political methods are changed.

Leaving out the extreme cases of police being controlled by dictators and being turned into instruments of oppression, normally the development of the ruler-appointed police has been in the direction of making them more and more representative of people's

will. On the other hand, the old people's police system has been slowly eroding and giving place to a ruler-appointed police system. This is inevitable, because in this modern civilised world, with fast means of transport and huge urban and industrial areas, it is impossible to maintain social security and public peace through the medium of only people's police. And, yet, the more the police gets detached from the people, the more will its foundation be eroded and the less the people will identify it as representing themselves and as being a body which they themselves have created for assisting them in the maintenance of their security and protection of their rights and virtues. A compromise is, therefore, necessary in which the technical efficiency of the ruler-appointed police must be harmonised with the kindredship and the representativeness of the people's police. Unless this combination is achieved, either the police will become a highly efficient machinery but completely divorced from the people or it will remain an inefficient people's police which will not be able to protect the people.

It is possible to achieve this synthesis by making the police take on more duties in connection with service to the people, which do not directly come under law-enforcement, and mobilising people's participation in advisory and other capacities. Police taking part in social service work will reveal to the people their human aspects. On the other hand, people's participation will make the police realise the importance of public co-operation and will help the people also to understand the true difficulties of law-enforcement work. Properly organised with the spirit of give and take from each side, it will be possible for the centralised and professional police to grow new roots in the people, which the latter may yet nurture and cherish.

No society however cultured and civilised can exist without a police force, and the history of the highly civilised Greek City States, which produced such great philosophers as Plato, Socrates, and Aristotle, shows that in spite of framing perfect laws and in spite of having good judicial machineries, these republics failed to set up a proper means of enforcing these laws and hence

the internal security of these States became untenable and time after time these republics failed. Same was the case with the great Roman Empire before Claudius Augustus; and though the Roman legions conquered practically the whole of Southern Europe, the only way they could think of maintaining order was through the army which was a most unsuitable machinery for this purpose. Hence they were unable to prevent disorder even in their own country of Rome. Time and again the Empire collapsed because of the inability of the rulers to maintain internal order. The great Alexander conquered country after country but, though he took the care to separate civil from military control, he forgot to set up a law-enforcing agency with the result that trouble broke out in his rear even when he was marching forward and, immediately after his death, his empire collapsed like a house of cards. In contrast to this, the great Egyptian Empire endured for centuries because the administration had secured a proper law-enforcement machinery. Similarly the Islamic empires and kingdoms existed for centuries because they introduced a very efficient police organisation which supervised even the working of religious places. Empires and republics also failed when the police force, after being originally set up and having functioned well for a time, became the handmaid of the rulers' idiosyncrasies and itself became an instrument of torture and vice which it was expected to prevent. On the other hand, when the police was kept rooted in the people, both the police and the State endured indefinitely.

The history of rise and fall of civilisations, empires and states has amply proved these eternal truths— firstly moral force alone is not enough to protect society against transgressions when the society becomes complex, classes appear and a ruler is appointed for maintaining order; secondly, laws are valueless without effective means by which they can be enforced; thirdly, military force is not capable of maintaining internal order by repression; and fourthly, a ruler-appointed police can be turned into an instrument of repression unless the democratic traditions of the country have been built on secure foundations.

• The Ram Rajya that everyone craves for cannot be sustained

merely by enlightened rules and passing enlightened laws; there must be enlightened people to implement those laws whom the public recognise as representatives of themselves. This is the ideal which must be worked for in the establishment of a police force. Non-existence of a police, as has been shown, will destroy society and the State. Establishment of a police force divorced from the people will also defeat the very purpose of its establishment. Therefore, the police must be rooted in the people and, in this complex world, must be an efficient force to protect society against transgressions not only from its members but from innumerable other sources.

National Police

As civilisation grew, means of communications expanded, large urban complexes started coming up, industries varied, occupations which a man could obtain diversified and even movements from one country to another became easier, the types of crime also diversified and it no longer was confined within a village itself. When crime was committed in a village by a criminal living in another, it was not possible for the village-based people's police to bring the transgressor to book before the village council, as he lived outside its jurisdiction. Even villages started losing their separate identities and it was often difficult to see where one ended and another began. Inter-village rivalries over grazing, water rights and boundaries often assumed serious proportions and required the intervention of a third party to solve the dispute. This necessitated some form of grouping among villages so that a central authority could be jointly elected to deal with matters concerning more than one village. Thus a sheriff in one country or a Panchayat in another grew up and on this office fell the responsibility of enforcing the social laws with the help of the village police of the villages under its control. In this effort at mutual co-operation, each village had to shed a part of its independence and power and hand these over to the central authority (a sheriff or a Panchayat). It was then possible to maintain equilibrium in the society consisting of the villages within a group. But, with the opening of communications, criminals often travelled long distances to commit crime, and new types of crime took form; and the sheriff's or the Panchayat's jurisdiction was found to be too small to be able to cope with these new developments. It was also difficult to settle disputes between villages or villagers belonging to

different groups as there was no mechanism "through which the writ of one group could be enforced on another. Therefore, the need arose of further centralisation of the work of law-enforcement. Bigger groups were, then, formed, which in some countries were named counties and in others districts; and whilst leaving the main responsibility of maintaining order in villages to the local people, some of the responsibilities of inter-village or inter-group complexion were taken over by the county or the district authority. Simultaneously national states also took shape and the need arose of enforcing laws enacted by the State in the different parts of the country. So the State also took over some of the police functions, especially those which could not be adequately performed by the local authorities. The State also had to protect itself against subversion and also its currency, stamp, revenues and communications. This also required the employment of a militia or some form of ruler-appointed police. The process of centralisation of authority and direction, therefore, went on progressively, eventually leading to the formation of national police forces in many countries.

The progress in this direction has naturally been uneven. It depended on many factors. Foreign domination, industrialisation, size, environment, nature of the people and the country all influenced this development. In a country like Great Britain, where one can trace the steady development of the people's police and its final emergence into a modern police force, separate police units of small urban areas having population of less than 1,00,000 were considered to be ineffective and inefficient and so were merged with the police of the county in which these boroughs were situated. There are now separate police forces independent of each other in all counties and in all cities having more than one hundred thousand population. There are other police forces like the Transport Police and the Aerodrome Police. The biggest of these units, of course, is the Metropolitan Police Force of London. Co-ordination amongst these police forces has been maintained by diverse measures. An Inspectorate has been set up in the Home Office to ensure that a proper standard of efficiency is maintained in each police force. The Government gives financial assis-

tance for certain projects, particularly communications, to all the counties and boroughs. There are central laboratories which cater to the needs of every police unit. Scotland Yard can be called into the investigation of any serious crime throughout the country, though it cannot do so as a matter of right. There is a proposal afoot to extend the jurisdiction of Scotland Yard throughout the whole of Great Britain. So, in this country, the centralisation has been effected up to the borough and the county level and the Government exercises certain amount of control by indirect methods.

In a country like France, which always had a ruler-appointed police in Paris, and a militia for the rural areas, with each urban area having its own police controlled by the local authority, centralisation has been attempted on a 3-pillar system. The oldest of these is the Paris Police directly under the Government and the Ministry of Interior; the second is the Surété Nationale under the same ministry which polices all the municipal areas of France; and the third is the gendarmerie under the Ministry of Defence, which polices the rural areas. In the municipal areas, there is joint control by the National Government as well as the locally elected representatives. Here, as will be noticed, the centralisation has gone further than in Great Britain.

In West Germany, which is divided into several States, the police is centralised within the State under one single head. This includes both the towns and the rural areas in that State. But inter-se co-operation is maintained both directly and through the Bundeskriminalamt, which is like a central investigation department, assisting all the States.

The Australian Police is nationalised within each State under one single head, but there is no co-ordinating authority for them. On the other hand, Canada has an entirely centralised police force. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police is responsible for policing the whole of Canada.

Centralisation has not proceeded very far in the organisation of the uniformed police in the United States where every township however small it may be has got its own independent police force; each county has got its police force for the rural areas; and each

State has got a separate police force for the main highways. There are, therefore, several hundreds of separate police forces in America, which makes co-ordination of police effort very difficult. There are central agencies which look after specific forms of crime like counterfeiting, smuggling, narcotics and commercial frauds, etc. In order to get over this difficulty of co-ordination, which was impossible amongst so many forces, the Federal Bureau of Investigation came into existence, which could investigate any federal crime anywhere in the States and also could be called in to assist in the investigation of ordinary crime in any State or county or borough. Besides this, the F.B.I. also gives technical assistance being the clearing house of finger prints, forensic examination, etc.

India since the commencement of the rule of the British crown has had more or less national police forces within the States, each under one single authority. In independent India, which is a union of sixteen States, each State has an Inspector-General of Police who commands the entire police force of that State. The strength of the police forces in the various States varies according to their sizes and population and may be as large as sixty to seventy thousand which would be the total police force of a country like Great Britain or West Germany. Only the city of Calcutta has a separate police force under a Commissioner who is directly under the State Government and not under the Inspector-General of Police. As each State comprised within itself a large population, sometimes running up to 50 to 60 millions and also covered a very large area, it was possible for this nationalised police force within the State to function efficiently and rules had been laid down for proper co-operation when inter-State crimes or criminals were involved. But, even in India, with increasing prosperity, more urbanisation, growth of more industries and opening of communications, newer forms of crime have come into existence, which require handling by a central authority which can co-ordinate the efforts of all the States. This is done by the Central Bureau of Investigation, which has concurrent jurisdiction in all the States in certain forms of crime, particularly those which relate to the Central Government and which can also come to the assistance

of the State Governments whenever this is required. It also functions as the National Central Bureau. Administrative co-ordination in the form of training, laboratories, equipment, organisation, etc., is done with the help of the Intelligence Bureau.

The pattern of India is followed in Pakistan which was a part of the sub-continent before independence and the pattern of the police in any one State of India, i.e., a nationalised police force under an Inspector-General is followed in practically all countries which were previously parts of the British Empire or in which British influence existed previously. Thus countries like Ghana, Nigeria, Kenya, Burma, Ceylon, Nepal, Thailand, all have national police forces. On the other hand, the French Triad pattern is followed in the territories which were formerly parts of the French Empire. Indonesia, which was previously under the Dutch, since gaining independence, has deviated completely from the Dutch system and has set up a national police force. .

The tendency of centralising the police has followed the tendency of men to live in bigger and bigger groups; and as the groups become bigger, the old method of exercising police functions through village police does not work. Hence, through the ages slowly but progressively processes have been evolved by which the police work has been brought increasingly under central control. Amongst the bigger countries the most decentralised police is in the United States, and probably the most centralised police is in countries like India, Pakistan and Indonesia.

The centralisation does not end here. In countries which closely resemble each other, like those in Western Europe, which have formed close economic alliances and have abolished visa formalities, it is easy for a person from one country to pass to a neighbouring country and go out of the processes of the law of the first country. With the opening of rapid means of communications, it is also easy for smugglers to operate over large areas of the world. Indian opium after the process of refinement in Lebanon may be found as heroin in America just as American gold passing through many intermediaries may find a market in India. There are international cheats and counterfeiters who operate over many

countries. It was beyond the competence of one single country to handle such international criminals and so it was found necessary to have a clearing house of information for such forms of crime and criminals and this came into existence in the form of the International Criminal Police Organisation with its headquarters in Paris, which has police forces of nearly one hundred countries as its members.

In this process of centralisation which seems to be inevitable, unfortunately, the old basis of police gets lost and the police increasingly assumes the form of a professional service working for its pay for fighting professional crime and maintaining order. Where the police was ruler-appointed, from the beginning this was the case, but even where the police grew out of the old people's police, unfortunately, this situation has to some extent developed. Large masses of armed police in some countries have also tended to increase the gap between the police and the public as the armed police performed the functions previously done by militia or army units. This is a very unhappy development, though it is inevitable. This encourages the police to assume an independent personality of its own without identifying itself entirely with the people. This leads to the loss of public cooperation and in turn forces the police to take to autocratic methods resulting in further breach between the police and the public.

The remedy lies in making a proper synthesis of the two systems. Thus we see Great Britain and the United States sticking tenaciously to the remnants of the old village police, whereas the nationalised police in a country like India is trying to seek its roots amongst the people. In any centralised police administration or in a ruler-appointed police, any attempt to make the police grow from the people now is impossible, because that time passed centuries ago. The alternative method has, therefore, to be tried, that is to make the police realise the sources of their origin, their actual moral and legal responsibility to the man in society, so that they may identify themselves with the people even though they are not appointed by them. This the Queen-appointed London Police have succeeded in doing by their example of character and

integrity, justice and fairness, consideration for everybody's liberty and convenience, and by functioning strictly within the sphere of law. The centralised police in other countries also should develop these qualities and the policeman must identify himself with the people at all times and be a partisan of all their sufferings and joys. He will be able to develop public trust if he observes absolute integrity, works strictly within the limits of law and never tries to overreach himself. If this atmosphere can be created, then the people, even if they do not find the policeman to be a man of their own blood, will at least accept him as a faithful and loyal servant of the house. This ideal must be kept in the forefront by all police forces, and in the process of centralisation, the show and glamour of being a member of a very large organisation with its own hierarchy of officers should not blind the policeman to his real identity.

International Police

From the earliest stage of his emergence from the savage state man has gone on expanding his society for collective living. The first social unit which he formed was his family. This soon expanded into small groups and the groups further expanded and covered larger areas. When one group came into contact with another, they coalesced peacefully or after a fight and formed a bigger group. These homogeneous groups formed into tribes. The process of fusion did not stop there, but tribes as they became more and more civilized joined each other and formed themselves into races which were ethnically homogeneous. Races gradually developed languages and then one race formed itself into a nation or several races speaking the same language but willing to live together formed one. Sometimes several races were forcibly kept in one nation by a strong ruler, or one race divided itself into several nations, mostly based on language which they acquired in different areas. The area in which each nation lived was named after it, and thus India became the abode of the Indians, Great Britain became the abode of the British, and Burma became the abode of the Burmese.

As we have seen, collective living necessitated the functioning of man's police faculties. When groups evolved into tribes, it was no longer practicable for every person to function as a policeman on behalf of the tribe and so the police functions were delegated to a ruler and through him to certain agents of the ruler and these agents later came to be known as policemen. This body either growing from the village or appointed by the ruler, took over the field work of administering police duties on behalf of the individuals. When tribes developed into races and nations, the

police also grew in size and its scope of work also expanded and ultimately the police became the national police force.

But however civilised man became, he could not completely conquer all his base instincts and for ever the animal in him or his impulses tried to drag him into a conduct which would be suicidal for his own improvement and detrimental to the solidarity of the society as a whole. This animal trait not only existed in individuals but existed in groups also, and so it developed even in whole nations. Thus, whilst a particular national group might have produced great philosophers, scientists, sages and humanists, and whilst its own government might be very liberal and popular, it continued to be selfish when its own interests clashed with the interests of another national group. On such occasions the nation as a whole forgot its noble heritage, its great philosophers and sages, and almost took the shape of a mob bent upon crushing the other nation. This gave rise to wars, and the history of the world has seen not only sanguinary fights between various tribes and races, but wars amongst big nations and combination of nations amongst which the two world wars of 1914-18 and 1939-45 are still fresh in living memory.

But wars do not really solve any problems. They mostly create new problems, generate more hatred and inflame passions which spoil human relations for decades to come. So Ashoka, the great humanist, being deeply moved by the miseries inflicted during the Kalinga war, sought to abolish war altogether. The famous Rock Edict III of Ashoka says—

“The Beloved of Gods, conqueror of Kalingas, is moved to remorse now, for he has felt profound sorrow and regret because the conquest of a people previously unconquered involves slaughter, death, and deportation.

“But there is a more important reason for the King's remorse, The Brahmanas and Sramanas (the priestly and ascetic order) as well as the followers of other religions and the householders—who all practised obedience to superiors, parents, and teachers, and proper courtesy and firm devotion to friends, acquaintances, companions, relatives, slaves and servants—all suffer from the

injury, slaughter and deportation inflicted on their loved ones. Even those who escaped calamity are deeply afflicted by the misfortunes suffered by those friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives for whom they feel an undiminished affection. Thus all men share in the misfortune, and this weighs on King Priyadarshi's mind."

Ashoka tried to abolish wars, because wars destroyed the very virtues which man had practised assiduously for thousands of years, not only for attaining individual excellence but also for the sake of social security and integrity. As people in all countries practised the same virtues in family or social living, Ashoka considered that one set of people practising these virtues should not kill and cause misery to another set of people also practising the same. Hence, in his Kalinga Edict No. II, Ashoka asked his officers to create confidence amongst the unconquered people living outside his jurisdiction and assure them that the King (i.e. Ashoka) was like father to them and he loved them as he loved himself and that they were like his children. So Ashoka extended to the unconquered people living outside his own kingdom the same considerations as he extended to his own people, thus setting an ideal to be aimed at in the establishment of relationship between various States. The same ideal led Mahatma Gandhi to adopt 'non-violence' as a creed even for international relations and thus to banish wars. In his long struggle with the British, he never once gave up his faith in non-violence even when all odds were against him and he was definitely on the losing side. He called to order by his fasts and otherwise whenever there was any violation of this principle by the people at large; and he did not hesitate, in spite of much opposition, in calling off the non-cooperation movement when it was at its height—after the Chauri Chaura massacre which historically was an insignificant incident. The result was that when the British eventually quit India, they still remained friends and little bitterness was left behind.

Just as in a society it is not enough if an individual is morally perfect, but what is necessary is that all individuals comprising society must observe the rules and conventions framed for common

good, similarly, in international relationship, it is not enough if one single nation holds on to the 'no war' principle—what is required is that all nations must accept that principle. Hence rules and conventions based on the 'no war' principle and on the accepted principles of human rights are necessary for the conduct of nations in the international field in their relations with other nations.

Abolition of wars can be brought about in three ways. The first is to desist from war to enforce any national rights and settle every dispute by discussions and mutual agreement. The second is to form bigger groups under a leader or as equals in which the participating nations renounce some of their own sovereign powers for mutual protection or form voluntary associations for mutual assistance in economic, cultural and other fields. The third is for all nations to join a voluntary association on the basis of certain fundamental principles of non-aggression and protection of human rights and to give power to the council so formed to enforce its decisions in conformity with these fundamental principles.

The first alternative has been tried over the ages by agreeing to bilateral treaties between two countries for mutual help and non-aggression. This has not always helped to restrain even the treaty-bound nations from fighting with each other. There are countries like Switzerland, Sweden, Norway and Denmark which have declared neutrality in any disputes between their neighbours. But though Switzerland and Sweden have so far been able to maintain their neutrality, Norway and Denmark were overrun by the Germans during the last great war, and their neutrality was violated in order to gain certain tactical advantages. The more recent application of this idea of non-aggression has been the formulation of the Five Principles (Panch Sheel) to determine the conduct of two nations in matters affecting their mutual relations. These Five Principles are:—

1. Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty;
2. Mutual non-aggression;
3. Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs;

4. Equality and mutual benefits; and
5. Peaceful co-existence.

These are high principles of international relationship and, if all nations could in letter and spirit adhere to them, wars in this world would end.

The Moscow Declarations of 1957 and 1960 by the Socialist countries and all the Communist Parties of the world, reversing the previous theory of the inevitability of wars between the capitalist and the socialist systems of the world, and accepting in its place the theory of peaceful co-existence between different systems, are the result of the recognition of the fact that mankind would head towards utter destruction in a nuclear war if the nations did not live peacefully.

But just as in the social field some transgressors always defy the social conventions for selfish motives, in the international field also some countries, in order to further their selfish interests, violate the conventions and declarations on international behaviour to which they had been voluntary signatories. So there have been gross breaches of the Five Principles and also the theory of peaceful co-existence of nations. It is apparent that just as in society laws have no meaning unless there is a law-enforcement agency to ensure that they are obeyed, similarly in international relations also unless there is a body to enforce the various principles of co-existence agreed to by the different nations, individual nations may, when they consider their self-interest demands such action, throw these Principles to the winds and try to enforce their will by force of arms.

The failure, except in certain rare cases, of the policy of voluntary renunciation of war has led nations to seek other alternatives of averting wars and the consequent destruction. The Roman Catholic Church, so long as it was strong and wielded certain amount of temporal authority, managed to keep the Christian countries united. Similarly, Islam exercised its unifying influence over large areas of Africa and Asia and maintained peace between different racial groups for a considerable period. So long as the Christian Church or the Caliphate could hold Christian

or Muslim nations^o together by moral power alone, inter-State jealousies and disputes could be sacrificed at the feet of religion. But moral force alone was not sufficient to induce nations to renounce the path of war and as the Church or the Caliphate had no direct agency with which to enforce its decisions, as soon as their influence dwindled, nations under their protection fell out and history has seen recurring wars between the Christian countries or between the Muslim countries themselves.

An extension of this idea of universal states was the creation of large empires of which the British and French Empires were striking examples. Though the empires were created by conquest, i.e. by force of arms, yet the British and the French managed to keep large parts of the world and many countries of diverse religions, languages and cultures at peace with each other. The weakness of this system was that it did not create a brotherhood of different nations forming the empire but was a case of a strong and powerful nation holding down other less powerful ones. So, however enlightened and liberal the rule of the metropolitan country might have been, the empires could not last because the subordinate nations were bound to break away and seek their own road to salvation. This happened not only in the old Roman, the Macedonian and the Assyrian Empires, but also, in recent times, to the British, the French and the Dutch Empires.

Empires in some cases gave way to the Commonwealth of Nations and here the erstwhile dependent countries, after becoming independent, united with the metropolitan country and became members of a common family, each independent of the other, and yet looking after others' interests. Though the Commonwealth has done a great deal of good work, particularly in economic and cultural fields, it has not been able to prevent bad blood being created between two nations belonging to the Commonwealth or even aggressions in some cases and one Commonwealth nation joining a non-Commonwealth nation against another Commonwealth nation. The weakness is not in the conception of the Commonwealth but in the implementation of the idea as there is no enforcing agency to settle disputes between members of the Commonwealth

countries and preventing one from acting in a manner inimical and injurious to another.

There are other examples of nations grouping together for the purpose of protecting or promoting the interests of the constituents. The formation of the American group, the Arab Council, the Organisation of the African States are cases of this type. But even these have not been able to prevent member countries from going against the interests of each other and even committing aggression. There are also the examples of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, i.e., N.A.T.O., the East European group, and the C.E.N.T.O. and the S.E.A.T.O., all of which are organisations to protect a group of countries against another group. But in these cases also it has been found that where there is an agency to implement the decisions as the N.A.T.O. or the East European group has got, peace has been maintained as between two different groups, even though there are many differences and international rivalries amongst the members of the groups themselves. But, where the alliance was of a loose nature, like the S.E.A.T.O., it was unable to prevent aggression.

Another way in which the unity of people of various nationalities was sought to be achieved was by forming the Communist International. Marxism laid down that all workers of the world, irrespective of their nationality, should stand together and should sacrifice even their national interests for maintaining workers' solidarity. Marxist philosophy considers workers not only to be the real representatives of the people but to be people themselves—all others being exploiters and so not coming within the category of people—, and if solidarity amongst the workers can be maintained, peaceful conditions between various countries may be secured, because, after all, it would be the workers who either as soldiers would fight in the battle field, or as artisans would produce arms and ammunition or other industrial material to help war effort, or as peasants would produce food for the same purpose, and, if they refuse to fight, there could be no war. This ideal worked up to a certain time, when there was one great socialist country and other small ones so that the decision given by the big country remained more or less binding on the rest; but, with the

emergence of another big socialist country, strains have appeared and workers' solidarity has not been of much avail even between the socialist countries themselves, what to speak of the solidarity between the workers of a socialist and a capitalist country. Workers of different nationalities gave their own interpretations to communist principles and, when their national interests were at stake, workers of one nation fought against the workers of another, forgetting the principle of workers' solidarity in the same way as the bourgeoisie of the two nations fought. This happened because there was no agency to implement in the field the decisions of the Communist International.

A much bigger concept was the League of Nations formed after the First World War. The League was based on high moral principles of international relations in order to give mankind respite from recurring wars which were undermining the very existence of human civilisation. But the League failed to avert the Japanese aggression against China or the Italian aggression against Ethiopia, nor could it liberate any dependent countries from the shackles of imperialism. This impotency of the League was also due to the fact that it had no machinery with which to implement its decisions or recommendations and it could function only through the exercise of moral pressure. The Second World War was the natural consequence of the absence of any law-enforcing agency in the international field. Enlightened by these repeated failures, the world leaders conceived the idea of the United Nations. The Preamble of the Charter quoted below expresses the deep felt needs and intentions which inspired the founding of the United Nations: —

“We, the people of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

“And for these ends to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples,

“Have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims:—

1. to maintain international peace and security;
2. to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the equal rights and self-determination of peoples;
3. to cooperate in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character, and in promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all; and
4. to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in attaining these common ends.”

The United Nations has several organs such as (1) The Economic and Social Council, (2) The Trusteeship Council, (3) the Security Council, (4) the International Court of Justice, and (5) the Secretariat. Of these the Economic and Social Council is the biggest organ because it has under it over a dozen of special agencies like the International Labour Organisation, Food and Agriculture Organisation, Education and Scientific and Cultural Organisation, World Health Organisation, etc. It has also got many commissions under it to deal with economic employment and development, transport and communications, population, narcotic drugs, human rights, etc. But, as the main hope for the fulfilment of which the United Nations was organised was the establishment of permanent peace in the world, naturally, the most important organ of the United Nations is the Security Council, and its specific responsibility is to guard peace in the world. The great activities which the United Nations has undertaken to improve the living conditions of the people throughout the world cannot

go on and expand and produce the desired result unless the world can be made secure from the devastations of another world war. Progress of mankind in all constructive fields depends on the United Nations being able to maintain peace in the world. Indeed, so important is the peace mission of the United Nations, working through its organ the Security Council, that Dag Hammarskjöld, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who gave his life for the sake of peace, referring to it said, "This great organisation grew out of pain and turmoil of the last war (Second World War). It welded together, in what should be a continued cooperation for world peace, all those who had fought against oppression. We are of different creeds and convictions; events and ideas, which, to some of us, remain the very basis of our faith, are elements of the spiritual heritage of man which are foreign to others. But common to us all, and above all other convictions, stands the truth. that the greatest prayer of man does not ask for victory but for peace." Indeed, so important is the peace-keeping work of the United Nations that it transcends all other aspects of its work. Even the work of the Trusteeship Council and the Economic and Social Council are directed to remove bitterness from the minds of under-developed people in different parts of the world in order to reduce the causes of friction and consequent trouble.

The Security Council is a substitute for the old League Council of the League of Nations, but has more powers to intervene in international disputes than the old League Council had. The Charter of the United Nations suggests the following methods by which nations having differences will settle their international disputes:—

1. The Organisation is based on the principle of sovereign equality of all its members;
2. Members are to fulfil in good faith the obligations they have assumed under the Charter;
3. They are to settle their international disputes by peaceful means;
4. They are to refrain in their international behaviour from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent

- with the purposes of the United Nations;
5. They are to give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the Charter, and to refrain from giving assistance to any State against which the Organisation is taking preventive or enforcement action;
 6. The United Nations is to ensure that non-members act in accordance with these principles so far as is necessary for maintaining international peace and tranquillity;
 7. The Organisation is not to intervene in matters essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State. This provision does not prejudice, however, the application of enforcement action with respect to the threats to the peace, breaches of the peace, and acts of aggression.

The Charter, therefore, suggests a number of peaceful ways by which nations may settle their disputes. They may try to seek settlement by exchanging views on a conference table. They may ask a special committee, consisting of the representatives of other nations, to make a fair investigation to help settle the dispute or they may ask for the advice of such a committee. They may even go a step further by agreeing to accept the judgement of arbitrators of their own choice, or they may make use of the expert Judges of the International Court of Justice at The Hague. If all these methods fail, it is the duty of the U.N. members involved in the dispute to bring the matter before the Security Council, and it is the duty of the Security Council to investigate any dispute which it considers may lead to strife and to make its own suggestions as to how it may be solved. If the Security Council fails to settle a dispute through peaceful means, it has the power to order action against the country causing the trouble. It can call on members of the United Nations to withdraw their ambassadors from or to discontinue trade with or break off communications with the country threatening peace or resorting to war. It can even call upon the members of the United Nations to take military action against the aggressor country and a Military Staff Committee under the Council is supposed to advise and assist it on the strategic direction of armed forces placed at its disposal.

The Security Council, since its inception, has settled several disputes peacefully, like the Indonesian-Dutch dispute, the Pakistan-Indian dispute, the Israel-UAR dispute, the Suez Canal dispute, the dispute in Cyprus, etc. In case of Korea, the Security Council had to send armed forces to rescue South Korea from aggression by North Korea. Similarly, in case of the Congo, the Security Council had to send armed forces to break the foreign-inspired rebellion of Katanga. But even where no fighting was involved, the Security Council despatched armed forces to maintain peace. In case of Cyprus, however, the armed forces had to be supplemented by a police force from a neutral country. Actions taken by the United Nations, excepting in Korea and possibly in Congo, were all in the nature of police actions for the maintenance of peace.

The need therefore has already arisen of an international police force to maintain order between two nations in dispute. The present structure of the United Nations is like that of the old Greek States. It has provided itself with a high-powered Council for deciding action, it has even a Court of Justice to arbitrate in disputes between two countries. Unfortunately, it has stopped there and has not provided itself with a permanent agency for enforcing its decisions or to produce the parties before the Court. So far it has made *ad hoc* arrangements and though in some areas the policing seems to be of a permanent nature as on the Indo-Pakistan border in Kashmir, or on the UAR-Israel border in Western Asia, yet the United Nations has no permanent force of its own so far. The U.N. has a police headquarters in the form of a Security Council for maintaining peace in the world and directing action against the delinquents but no force to work in the field. It has provided itself with a fine brain but it has no arms or hands. The result is that on several occasions the United Nations has not been able to implement its decisions. Unless this weakness is rectified and permanent remedial measures taken, at a crucial moment the United Nations will meet the same fate as its predecessor the League of Nations had met and another catastrophe, bigger in magnitude than any previous one, will overcome the human race.

Talks have been held for the purpose of having a permanent world police force under the Security Council. This seems to be inevitable, though it is not clear yet, how a police force of this type will be able to prevent friction between two powerful countries like the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. or the U.S.A. and China, unless the Security Council takes possession of all the nuclear weapons manufactured by the different powers and is determined and is in a position to use them. The other alternative is total disarmament, in which case an international peace-keeping force even with conventional weapons will be able to intervene effectively in a dispute between two big nations. Even now, however, an international police force will certainly be able to intervene in cases of dispute between most of the other less powerful nations as the *ad hoc* forces raised from time to time have so far done on various occasions.

There is a striking and absolutely essential similarity between the purpose for which the United Nations has been organised for maintaining order in the whole world and the purpose for which a police force is organised for maintaining order within a country. The United Nations has to maintain international peace and security; a national police force has to maintain peace and security within the country. The United Nations has to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the equal rights and self-determination of peoples; the national police force has to develop friendly relations amongst the various communities, castes, and religious and linguistic groups living in a country, based on respect for the equal rights of the people. The United Nations has to co-operate in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character and in promoting respect for all human rights and fundamental freedoms for all; the national police force has to assist in solving all national problems of an economic, social, cultural and humanitarian character, and in promoting respect for and protecting human rights and fundamental freedoms for all. The United Nations has to be a centre for harmonising the actions of nations in securing the common ends of peace and progress in the world; the national police force is a

body continuously engaged in harmonising the actions of all people living in a country for the maintenance of the common ends of peace and progress. If the United Nations fails to maintain peace and order in the world, all progress, economic and cultural, will come to an end; similarly if the national police fails to maintain internal peace and order, all attempts at economic and cultural progress will fail.

Just as man on emergence from his savage state developed conscience and civic sense which acted as individual policeman in him or on behalf of the society, and these helped to keep society together and prevent transgressions; just as the people's police or the ruler-appointed police maintained peace and order on behalf of the tribe or group; just as the national police force maintains order and peace within a country and takes charge of transgressors for their punishment; similarly when the people of the world have developed a super-nation, i.e. the United Nations, it is necessary that there should be a police force to enforce the decisions of the United Nations. Just as Law has no meaning without a law-enforcement agency, similarly, as was evidenced in the case of League of Nations, a decree of the United Nations can have no substance unless the United Nations establishes a permanent police force for enforcing its decisions. There is no doubt that if the world is to live in peace and avoid the horrors of wars, and mankind is to prosper and maintain the uninterrupted growth of civilisation, the United Nations must provide itself with a strong agency with which to enforce its decisions, and this will be an international police force. If nations are yet reluctant to part with certain portions of their sovereignty, which would be inevitable due to the creation of such an agency, another world war will force the nations to realise the essential need of raising a police force to regulate their international conduct.

Dr. Radhakrishnan, the greatest philosopher of modern age, has said—"Our true nationality is the human race; our home the world." This is the ideal before the world, but to achieve this ideal, permanent peace has to be secured in this home so that every individual may enjoy the fruits of his labour and pursue the path

of true happiness and liberation without any hindrance. This is possible only if there is an international police force to maintain peace and order between different nations.

The police, therefore, is the main force which can keep together in their respective and proper places human beings in groups, groups in tribes, tribes in races, races in nations, and nations in this world. This policeman could very well say as Sri Krishna said in the Bhagwat Gita—

मयि सर्वमिदं प्रोतं सूत्रे मणिगणा इव ।

(Ch. VII, 7)

“I hold all these existences together even as the string holds together the gems”.

Police and Religion

ज्योतिर्मात्मनि नान्यत्र समं तत्सर्वजन्तुषु ।

स्वयं सा शक्यते द्रष्टुम् सुसमहितचेतसा ॥

Jyotir atmani nanyatra samam tat sarvajantusu

Svayam ca sakyate drastum susamahitacetasa

(Quoted by Dr. Radhakrishnan in
"The Bhagwat Gita")

"God's light dwells in the self and nowhere else. It shines alike in every living being and one can see it with one's mind steadied."

This universalism of Indian thought has made India a country of great religious tolerance. Indeed, the philosophy preached in the Bhagwat Gita, which is the end-product of the Vedas, the Vedantas and the Brahmasutras, does not teach any particular religion but lays down the ways of attaining God, which are open to anyone in this world, whatever the religion he may profess; and even if he is a Christian, or a Mussalman, or an animist—he does not have to renounce his religion to follow the tenets of the Bhagwat Gita. Speaking on the universalism of the Bhagwat Gita, the philosopher President, Dr. Radhakrishnan in his introductory essay on "The Bhagwat Gita" has said, "The teaching of the Gita is not presented as a metaphysical system thought out by an individual thinker or a school of thinkers. It is set forth as a tradition which has emerged from the religious life of mankind. It is articulated by a profound seer who sees truth in its many-sidedness and believes in its saving power. It represents not any sect of Hinduism but Hinduism as a whole, not merely Hinduism but religion as such, in

its universality, without limit of time or space, embracing within its synthesis the whole gamut of the human spirit, from the crude fetishism of the savage to the creative affirmations of the saint. The suggestions set forth in the Gita about the meaning and value of existence, the sense of eternal values and the way in which the ultimate mysteries are illumined by the light of reason and moral intuition provide the basis for agreement in mind and spirit so very essential for keeping together the world which has become materially one by the universal acceptance of the externals of civilisation”.

Sri Krishna Himself said to Arjuna in the Bhagwat Gita:

ये यथा मां प्रपद्यन्ते तांस्तथैव भजाम्यहम् ।

मम वर्त्मानुवर्तन्ते मनुष्याः पार्थ सर्वशः ॥

(Chapter IV, II)

“In whatever way men worship Me, in the same way do I fulfil their desires; it is My path, O Partha, that men tread, in all ways”.

Explaining this sloka, Dr. Radhakrishnan says: “This verse brings out the wide catholicity of the Gita religion. God meets every aspirant with favour and grants to each his heart's desire.... The Gita does not speak of this or that religion but speaks of the impulse which is expressed in all forms, the desire to find God and understand our relation to Him. The same God is worshipped by all. The differences of conception and approach are determined by local colouring and social adaptations. All manifestations belong to the same Supreme.... God is the rewarder of all who diligently seek Him, whatever views of God they may hold. The spiritually immature are unwilling to recognise other gods than their own. Their attachment to their own creed makes them blind to the larger unity of the Godhead. This is the result of egotism in the domain of religious ideas. The Gita, on the other hand, affirms that though beliefs and practices may be many and varied, spiritual realisation to which these are the means is one”.

Naturally, in this Bharat, inspired over thousands of years by the teachings of the Bhagwat Gita, the main direction of thinking of all enlightened people has been towards the acceptance of the fundamental truths of all great religions and not rejecting or suppressing the teaching of any other faith. The fact that God was attainable through every religion was practically demonstrated in more recent times by Bhagwan Sri Ramakrishna, who, after attaining his Samadhi and after having perfected himself in all Yogas, became a Muslim and a Christian by turns and realised in himself the Muslim God, i.e. the Brahman with attributes; and again, the Christian God, the Love Incarnate, and returned to the state of Brahman without attributes. He entered the rivers of Islam and Christianity and these led him back to the ocean of universalism. Sri Ramakrishna could say this to his disciples: "I have practised all religions, Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, and I have also followed the paths of the different Hindu sects.... I have found that it is the same God towards whom all are directing their steps, though along different paths.... Wherever I look I see men quarrelling in the name of religion, Hindus, Mohammadans, Brahmos, Vaishnavas and the rest, but they never reflect that He, who is called Krishna is also called Shiva, and bears the same Primitive Energy, Jesus and Allah as well, the same Rama with a thousand names. The tank has its several ghats. At one Hindus draw water in pitchers, and call it 'jala', at another Mussalmans draw water in leathern bottles and call it 'pani', and at a third Christians call it 'water'. Can we imagine that the 'water' is not 'jala' but only 'pani' or 'water'? How ridiculous! The substance is One under different names and everyone is seeking the same Substance; nothing but climate, temperament and name vary. Let each man follow his own path. If he sincerely and ardently wishes to know God, peace be unto him! He will surely realise Him". (Romain Rolland in *Life of Ramakrishna*)

The Indian conception of God does not limit Him to anything finite. He is transcendental, supreme, and covers every thing that exists, good or bad, beautiful or ugly, living or inanimate. Bharat has been the home of two great religions, Hinduism and Buddhism.

Both have flourished side by side. No force was ever used either to propagate Hinduism or Buddhism. No king ever killed the Hindu Brahmins to spread Buddhism or jailed the Buddhist monks to re-establish Hinduism. The ascendancy of one or the other of these two religions in India at one time or other was brought about entirely by academic discussions between great saints practising either concept. Christianity came to India in the very early years of its propagation and even before the formation of the Roman Church and centuries before it travelled to its later homes in Europe and America. It was accepted with open arms by the then rulers of S. India and Christian missionaries were given every facility for its profession, preaching and propagation. The Christian community in South India is one of the oldest in the world and has flourished for the last nineteen hundred years and is a most valued community in the country. Islam also came to South India much earlier than it reached such present-day Muslim countries as Afghanistan, Pakistan, Malayasia and Indonesia, and it was accorded the same treatment as was extended to the indigenous religions of India. A Muslim community grew up in South India long before there was a Muslim in Pakistan or Afghanistan. One of the oldest religions of the world, Zoroastrianism, though extinct in its original home, Iran, due to the impact of Islam, still flourishes in India, which also has sheltered one of the earliest Jewish tribes of Israel. Jainism and Sikhism have both grown on Indian soil and have flourished side by side with other religions. Not only organised religions, Bharat tolerates even the earliest forms of tribal worship which still exist in many parts of the country. This ingrained tolerance and respect for other religions was spontaneously exhibited by the people of India during the XXXVIII Eucharistic Congress in December, 1944 in Bombay when millions of Indian citizens, the vast majority of whom were Hindus, greeted Pope Paul VI as the 'Bara Guru', i.e. the Great Teacher.

King Ashoka, the greatest propagator of Indian thought in the political field, invited men of all faiths to live in his kingdom and not only granted them full freedom to practise their religion and faith but strictly prohibited any discrimination against persons

professing faith other than his own. Rock Edict No. VII says, "King Priyadarshi (Ashoka) wishes members of all faiths to live everywhere in his kingdom". Rock Edict No. XII says, "King Priyadarshi honours men of all faiths, members of religious orders and laymen alike with gifts and various marks of esteem. . . .

"The faiths of all others deserve to be honoured for one reason or another. By honouring them, one exalts one's own faith and at the same time performs a service to the faith of others. By acting otherwise, one injures one's own faith and also does disservice to that of others. For if a man extols his own faith and disparages another, because of his devotion to his own and because he wants to glorify it, he seriously injures his own faith.

"Therefore, concord alone is commendable for through concord men may learn and respect the conception of Dharma accepted by others".

This great ruler who was an ardent Buddhist and who carried the message of Lord Buddha to the greater part of the Asiatic continent, yet did not use the slightest coercion, physical, mental or moral, in his own kingdom, to convert people to Buddhism which was a living faith for him. Indeed, he enjoined on his staff and all his subjects that it was only by respecting other faiths that one could honour one's own.

It is this thinking which has influenced Bharat for thousands of years and which has found place in the second stanza of the soul-stirring national song of Tagore which carries this message of tolerance to the mouth of every Indian, male or female, adult or child.

अहरह तव आह्वान प्रचारित, सुनि तव उदार वाणी,
हिंदु, बौद्ध, जैन, पारसिक, मुसलमान, ख्रिस्टानी,
पूरव पश्चिम आसे तव सिंहासन-पाशे
प्रेमहार ह्य गाँथा !
जनमनगण-ऐक्य-विधायक जय हे, भारत माग्य विधाता ।

"Oh! The presiding God of India, attracted by your constant call and inspired by your liberal message, Hindus, Buddhists, Sikhs,

Jains, Parsis, Muslims, Christians, all come from all directions with offerings to your throne to be woven in a garland of love. Oh! The God of India, Thou bringest the hearts of all people into the harmony of life, victory to Thee."

The Father of the Indian Nation, Mahatma Gandhi said, "I do not want India of my dream to develop one religion, i.e., to be wholly Hindu or wholly Christian or wholly Mussalman, but I want it to be wholly tolerant, with its religions working side by side with one another . . . I have not been able to see any difference between the Sermon on the Mount and the Bhagwat Gita". Mahatma Gandhi's favourite religious song, which has been sung by millions and millions of people over the last 40 years, expresses this unity of Gods:—

Raghupati Raghav Raja Ram, Patit Pavan Sita Ram
Ishwar Allah Tere Nam, Sabko Sanmati De Bhagwan

"O Sita Ram, the rescuer of the fallen, you are both Iswara (the Hindu God) and Allah (the Muslim God). O, God, you give good sense to all."

This spirit of tolerance, broadmindedness, respect for other people's faith and spirit of co-existence lasting for several thousand years has gone so much into the blood-stream of the Indian that it was no wonder that when the Constitution of Independent India came to be written, this liberal spirit found prominent place in Article 25 (1) of the Constitution which granted freedom of conscience and the right to profession, practice and propagation of religion in the following words: ". . . all persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess, practise and propagate religion". The Constitution of Independent India does not discriminate against any person on grounds of religion, race, caste, etc. Article 15(1) of the Constitution of India says, "The State shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them". Art. 14 of the Constitution grants all nationals equality before law or the equal protection of laws within the territories of India. Indeed, the Constitution of India is so particular about protecting the right of every individual to choose his

own religion, that Art. 28 prohibits giving of any religious instruction in any educational institution wholly maintained out of State funds.

The Indian laws in keeping with the Indian Constitution, therefore, protect all religions. Chapter XV of the Indian Penal Code, which deals with the offences relating to religion, makes the following acts punishable with imprisonment or fine under Sections 295 to 298 of the Code:—

1. Destroying, damaging or defiling any place of worship or any object held sacred by any class of persons, with the intention of insulting the religion of that class.
2. Insulting or attempting to insult the religion or the religious beliefs of any class of citizens of India with the intention of outraging their religious feelings.
3. Disturbing any assembly lawfully engaged in the performance of religious worship or religious ceremonies.
4. Trespassing in any place of worship or cemetery or in a funeral place, with the intention of wounding the feelings or insulting the religion of any person; and
5. Uttering any word or making any sound or gestures or exhibiting anything with the intention of wounding the religious feelings of any person.

These provisions do not make any distinction between persons of one religious faith and another, but prohibit equally any insult to any of the religions practised in India. Under the Indian Constitution and Indian Law, a Hindu, if he insults Islam or Christianity, is as culpable as a Muslim or a Christian who insults Hinduism. Even insult to the religion of an animist is an offence, because the Indian constitution recognises the animist's right to profess his own faith and practise his own method of worship.

The police must represent all that is good in humanity. The Police of India must represent this high spirit of tolerance and respect for all faiths which is in the life-blood of the people of this sub-continent. The police must represent all that is good in Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity, Islam, Sikhism and, in fact, in all religions of the world and only in this way can a policeman

be a good Hindu or Muslim or Christian, etc. If this spirit can be properly imbibed, the question of making any discrimination against religions other than one's own will not arise. Apart from that, the police must uphold the Constitution and enforce the law which protects all religious beliefs and practices and punishes insult to other religions. The police must, therefore, mete out equal treatment to all nationals of India, be he a Hindu, a Muslim, a Christian, a Buddhist, a Sikh, a Jain, a Parsi, a Jew or an animist. If he does not do it, he not only goes against the sacred commandments of the Indian Constitution regarding fundamental rights and acts contrary to the law of the land, but goes against the very tradition of Indian thought and culture. Ashoka, in his administrative edict, pointed out that by insulting other religions a person debases his own, and prohibited any discrimination on the score of religion. Speaking specifically to police officers in those fateful days of August, 1947, days simultaneously brightly illumined by the transfer of power and darkened by the holocaust of communal killings, Mahatma Gandhi said that "he must warn all the officers and their men in the police force, that in their work they were neither Muslims, nor Hindus, nor Sikhs; they were mere Indians bound by oath to give full protection to the afflicted, without regard to their religion. Thereby they did not cease to be Muslims, Hindus, or Sikhs but became better".

Fights on the issue of religion are insensible and ridiculous, particularly in India where even the Bhagwat Gita teaches the identity of the truths of all religions. Discrimination by one religious group against another and consequential quarrels and fights debase the entire mentality of the Indian nation and undermine the social and the political fabric of the country. The Architect of modern India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, appealing to the services to maintain and promote national integrity said, "I would appeal to each one of you to work continuously and deliberately for the promotion of national and emotional integrity of all our people. . . .

"We have laid down in our Constitution that India is a secular State. That does not mean irreligion. It means equal respect for all faiths and equal opportunities for those who profess any faith.

We have, therefore, always to keep in mind this vital aspect of our culture which is also of the highest importance in the India of today. Those who put up barriers between one Indian and another and promote disruptive tendencies do not serve the cause of India or her culture. They weaken us at home and discredit us abroad. Therefore, it is of utmost importance that we should work for this emotional integration of India."

The duty of the policeman in India in matters of religion is clear. He should be steadfast in his own religion. But conditioned by the spirit of tolerance of Indian thought and religion, guided by such great rulers like Ashoka, inspired by great leaders like Gandhi, Nehru and Radhakrishnan and following the dictates of the Constitution and the law of the country, every policeman in India must consider it to be his 'Dharma' (religion) to protect all other religions and extend to people professing these religions every protection of the Constitution which he would like his own religion to enjoy.

Police and National Integration

What is this land of Bharat? Whose home is it? Whence did the people of this country come, and when? Why do we find myriads of races, colours, physical features and ethnic characteristics amongst the people of this country? Why do we find so many languages, dialects, religions, sects, castes, etc.? It is best to reply to this question by quoting Tagore's famous poem 'Bharat Tirtha':

भारत तीर्थ

हे मोर चित्त, पुन्यतीर्थे जागो रे धीरे—

एइ भारतेर महामानवेर सागरतीरे ॥

हेथाय दाँडाये दु बाहु बाडाये नमि नरदेवतारे,

उदार छन्दे परमानन्दे बन्दन करि तारै ।

ध्यानगम्भीर एइ-ये भूधर, नदी-जपमाला-धृत प्रान्तर,

हेथाय नित्य हेरो पवित्र घरित्रीरे—

एइ भारतेर महामानवेर सागरतीरे ॥

केह नाहि जाने कार आह्वाने कत मानुषेर घारा

दुर्बार स्रोते एल कोथा हते, समुद्रे हल हारा ।

हेथाय आर्य, हेथा अनार्य, हेथाय द्राविड़ चीन—

शक-हुन-दल पाठान-मोगल एक देहे हल लीन ॥

पश्चिमे आजि खुलियाछे द्वार, सेथा हते सबे आने उपहार,

दिबे आर निबे, मिलावे मिलिबे, याबे ना फिरे—

एइ भारतेर महामानवेर सागरतीरे ॥

एसो हे आर्य, ऐसो अनार्य, हिन्दु-मुसलमान ।

एसो एसो आज तुमि इंराज, एसो एसो खूष्टान ।

एसो ब्राह्मण, शक्ति करि मन धरो हात सबाकार ।

एसो हे पतित, होक अपनीत सब अपमानमार ।
 मार अभिषेके एसो एसो त्वरा, मँगलघट हय नि ये भरा
 सबार-परशे-पवित्र-करा तीर्थनीरे—
 आजि भारतेर महामानवेर सागरतीरे ॥

Bharat—The Land of Pilgrimage

O heart of mine, awake in this holy place of pilgrimage,
 In this land of India, on the shore of vast humanity.
 Here do I stand with arms outstretched to salute man divine,
 And sing his praise in many gladsome paean.
 These hills that are rapt in deep meditation,
 These plains that clasp their rosaries of rivers,—
 Here you will find earth that is ever sacred,
 In this land of India, on the shore of vast humanity.
 We know not whence, and at whose call, these myriad streams of
 men
 Have come rushing forth impetuously to lose themselves in this sea.
 Aryan and non-Aryan, Dravidian and Chins,
 Scythian, Hun, Pathan, Moghul, all, all have merged into one
 body.
 Now the West has opened her doors, and they are all bringing their
 offerings,
 They will give and take, unite and be united, they will not turn
 away,
 In this land of India, on the shore of vast humanity.
 Come Aryan, non-Aryan, Hindu, Mussalman, come.
 Come ye Parsees, O Christians, come ye one and all.
 Come Brahmins, let your hearts be hallowed by holding all men
 by the hand.
 Come all ye who are shunned and isolated, wipe out all dishonour.
 Come to the crowning of the Mother, fill the sacred bowl
 With water that is sanctified by the touch of all,
 In this land of India, on the shore of vast humanity.

(Tagore—'Poems')

So, this is a land to which the Aryans, the non-Aryans, the Dravidians, the Mongols, the Scythians, the Huns, the Pathans, the Mughals, the Arabs, the Polynesians, the Malayans, the Burmans, the Hindus, the Muslims, the Christians, the Buddhists, the Parsis have all come to do their pilgrimage and they have all settled down and have merged to form the vast humanity of this country. If any one race could claim that India really belonged to it to the exclusion of others, then only the tribals in Central India could do so; but even then who knows whom they displaced to make their abode in this country. So, this is a country where myriads of people of different races and colours, different languages, customs and religions have merged to build up the Indian nation of today. We are justly proud of the Hindu architectures of Khajuraho, Mahabalipuram and Konarak as of the Buddhist architectures in Sanchi, Ellora and Ajanta and of the Taj and Qutab Minar built during Muslim times. Workmen and artisans who built these wonders of the world had in their blood centuries of their professional skill, and they belonged to many religions and to many ethnic groups. The new temples of today, the great dams and hydro-electric power stations, the massive steel and other machine factories that have been built, have also been erected by the joint labour of thousands and thousands of people belonging to all religions, castes and languages. It is thus that the unity of this country has been built through centuries of fusion and synthesis.

Stressing this eternal unity of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said, "Thousands of years of history have conditioned our people and made our country what it is—an abiding unity—and, at the same time, great diversity. People of many religions live in this country, many great languages flourish amongst our people. And yet, in spite of this variety, there has been a deeper unity which had held us together. Each one of us must realise that the only future for India and her people is one of tolerance and co-operation which have been the basis of our culture from ages past."

But what has happened? We see quarrels breaking out every day between Indians professing different religions, between men of the same religion speaking different languages, between men

of the same religion and language but having different castes; and often these disputes are attended with much violence and bloodshed. If these disruptive influences are not checked, they will destroy this sacred country. It is this spectacle of 'Himsa' and consequent violence spreading their tentacles everywhere which made the poet cry out in anguish and invoke God to come and rescue the people from this cauldron of hatred and bring into their life harmony and rhythm and make them one in spirit.

हिंसाय उन्मत्त पृथ्वी, नित्य निरुत द्वन्द्व;
घोर कुटिल पन्थ तार, लोमजटिल बन्ध ।

* * *

क्रन्दनमय निखिलहृदय तापदहनदीप्त
विषय-विष-विकार-जीर्ण खिन्न अपरितृप्त ।

देश देश परिल तिलक रक्तकलुषग्लानि,
तब मंगलशंख आन' तब दक्षिणपाणि—
तब शुभसंगीतराग, तब सुन्दर छन्द ।

शान्त हे, मुक्त हे, हे अनन्तपुण्य,
करुणाघन, धरणीतल, कर कलंकशूण्य ॥

The world today is wild with the delirium of hatred,
the conflicts are cruel and unceasing in anguish,
crooked are its paths, tangled its bonds of greed.

* * *

Man's heart is anguished with the fever of unrest,
with the poison of self-seeking,
with a thirst that knows no end.

Countries far and wide flaunt on their foreheads
the blood-red mark of hatred.

Call them to attention with your holy conch-shell,
touch them with your right hand:

make them one in spirit,
bring harmony into their life,
bring rhythm of beauty,

O Serene, O Free,

in thine immeasurable mercy and goodness
wipe away all dark stains, from the heart of this earth.

(Tagore—'Poems')

This madness is not confined to this country. It is partly a reflection of what is happening outside in other countries, and also between different nations. It is to prevent the spread of the spirit of violence in international relations that the United Nations has been set up, and that body is continuously attempting to resolve international disputes by peaceful means. Is there no-body in the country, no agency, no organisation to stop the spread of this spirit of violence within the country? Yes, there is. It is the Indian Police. There are many other agencies which should and do contribute to the maintenance of harmony and oppose the disruptive forces in the country. But the most important part should be played by the police and on them should devolve the highest responsibility of maintaining India's integrity and unity and harmony between the hundreds of sects and groups living in this country.

Speaking specifically of the police role in national integration, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru said, "I do not think any one can exaggerate the role of the police in national life. It is important and it is difficult, because they are constantly in touch with the day-to-day activities of the people. Intellectually, policemen must be clear as to what is being aimed at in this country for the present and for the future. It seems to me absolutely clear that the whole future of India depends on this national integration because national integration is the very basis of any national feeling. If there is no national integration, then there is no sense of nationality or nationalism and people will start thinking of Hindu nationalism or Muslim nationalism or Sikh nationalism. . . . In this country we are prone to factions, but we must curb everything that creates these narrow nationalisms. . . . India is a curious country where you find everything contradictory at the same time, one pulling this way, one pulling that way, as a result of our historical conditioning. However, India is going through a very vital revolutionary period. When you go through a dynamic period, all sorts of problems

which were lying low rise up, and indeed, so many problems have been suppressed for so long under foreign rule—now that they have a chance of coming up, they do so in a bunch.... The future of India is in national integration. If we do not accept this, then we accept the continuous possibility of division of India. There may not be any actual division but the possibility will be there and this will be a corroding influence. If disintegration takes place, then the question of any progress, economic and social, goes by the board. Therefore, the police force must have all this idea in the background of their mind so that they can understand their own duties in this field of national integration.

“It is a privilege in a country to have this variety and it is the greatness of India to have this variety. We must maintain this variety but it should be an emotionally integrated variety. That means that the police force must condition itself to think on these lines. At moments of crisis and in times of internal trouble, communal, linguistic and others, every policeman must pull himself up. He must know how to pull himself up. He must be given the training beforehand so that in times of crisis he can function impartially without being pushed this way or that by his emotional urges, caste urges, religious urges, or whatever they may be. In fact, it is his special responsibility to be the guardian of the minority groups or other minorities, because they require the protection more than the majority”.

If national integration is not achieved, this country, as apprehended by Panditji, would be destroyed. Our Constitution lays down guarantees protecting the religion, culture and language of every Indian. It is the duty of the police to uphold this constitutional right of every individual Indian and the completion of the process of national integration will take place only when every Indian feels that he is free in this great country to practise his own religion and enjoy his own culture and speak his mother tongue. It is only then that he will consider himself to be an indispensable part of the society and the country. It is the duty of the police to uphold these rights and to the extent that the police can do it, it will signify their success in the field of national integration.

In this task of national integration, the police have the most important function to perform and have the heaviest responsibility. If every police officer could forget in times of trouble and emergency that he comes from a particular area, that he professes a particular religion, that he belongs to a particular caste, and that he speaks a particular language, and throws his entire weight against the disruptive forces, if necessary even by sacrificing his life, a real achievement will have been made in the field of national integration.

If blood is spilled in fights between two communities, it is very difficult to bring them together and integrate them. The sense of guilt of the aggressor and the feeling of injury of the victim persist for many years and continuously poison their relationship, making it impossible for them to join in any common effort in service of the country. Therefore, it should be the duty of the police to prevent bloodshed. All other quarrels can be patched up and permanent peace restored, but once killing has taken place, the smouldering hatred does not allow an early return to normal relationship. With clarity of mind and thinking, and fully understanding the stakes involved and realising the responsibilities which society has placed on their shoulders, the police must exercise proper vigilance and stop all disruptionist tendencies and help in the process of national and emotional integration. Too often, the policeman falters when faced with an onrush of communal and other disruptive forces. People who want to carry this disruption to the end are no longer civilised men living a collective life in human society, but have transformed themselves into wild beasts; and if policemen allow their own emotions to be swayed by the actions or preachings of such persons, then the entire fabric of society would be destroyed and there will be little left of this great country of ours which the poet has described as 'Bharat Tirtha'.

Use of Force

The President, Dr. Radhakrishnan, has said: "We have spiritual tradition and it was written in our Scriptures that the spirit could conquer evil. But it was also written in our Scriptures that, when spirit failed, military might had to be employed to crush evil". Coming from the mouth of the greatest living philosopher of the day, whose profound knowledge of the Hindu and Buddhist Scriptures and of other philosophical systems is respected all over the world, this is an authoritative statement endorsing the use of force when moral persuasion fails.

Indeed, the Indian Scriptures have never forbidden the use of force to suppress evil, peaceful means having failed. The theme of the Ramayana is the killing of the demon Ravana, the symbol of evil, by Sri Ramchandra, the symbol of good. In the 'Bhagwat Puranam', Lord Vishnu in the form of Sri Nrisingha had to destroy Hiranyakashipu and as Sri Krishna had to destroy Kansa and Sisupal. When in the great battle of Kurukshetra Arjuna wavered at the prospect of having to kill so many near relations arrayed against him, though he was on the side of right, Sri Krishna mildly rebuked him and pointed out the proper path for a Kshatriya.

स्वधर्ममपि चावेक्ष्य न विकम्पितुमर्हसि ।

धर्म्यादि युद्धाच्छ्रेयोज्यत्क्षत्रियस्य न विद्यते ॥

(Bhagwat Gita—Ch. II, 31)

"Looking at thine own 'Dharma', also, thou oughtest not to waver, for there is nothing higher for a Kshatriya than a righteous war."

यदृच्छया चोपपन्नं स्वर्गद्वारमपावृतम् ।
 सुखिनः क्षत्रियाः पार्थ लभन्ते युद्धमीदृशम् ॥
 (Bhagwat Gita—Ch. II, 32)

“Fortunate certainly are the Kshatriyas, O Partha, who are called to fight in such a battle, that comes unsought as an open gate to heaven.”

अथ चेत्त्वमिमं धर्म्यं संग्रामं न करिष्यसि ।
 ततः स्वयम् कीर्तिं च हित्वा पापमवाप्स्यसि ॥
 (Bhagwat Gita—Ch. II, 33)

“But if thou refusest to engage in this righteous warfare, then, forfeiting thine own ‘Dharma’ and honour, thou shalt incur sin.”

अकीर्तिञ्चापि भूतानि कथयिष्यन्ति तेऽव्ययाम् ।
 संभावितस्य चाकीर्तिर्मरणादतिरिच्यते ॥
 (Bhagwat Gita—Ch. II, 34)

“The world will also ever hold thee in reprobation. To the honoured, disrepute is surely worse than death.”

हतो वा प्राप्स्यसि स्वर्गं जित्वा वा भोक्ष्यसे महीम् ।
 तस्मादुत्तिष्ठ कौन्तेय युद्धाय कृतनिश्चयः ॥
 (Bhagwat Gita—Ch. II, 37)

“Dying thou gainest heaven; conquering thou enjoyest the earth. Therefore, O Arjuna, arise, resolved to fight.”

Dr. Radhakrishnan in his commentary has said: “His svadharma or law of action requires him to engage in battle. Protection of right by the acceptance of battle, if necessary, is the social duty of the Kshatriya, and not renunciation. His duty is to maintain order by force and not to become an ascetic by shaving off the hair. A Kshatriya’s happiness consists not in

domestic pleasures and comforts but in fighting for the right. When the struggle between right and wrong is on, he who abstains from it out of false sentimentality, weakness or cowardice would be committing a sin."

Administration is the work of the Kshatriya; and the police, who form the main executive arm of the government, are therefore Kshatriyas and their duty as policemen is clearly the Kshatriya duty of administration. It is their duty to maintain order, if necessary even by force, and not to seek renunciation. When the struggle between right and wrong is on, any policeman who abstains from it out of false sentimental weakness or cowardice would be committing a grievous sin.

'The Devi Mahatmyam' or 'Durga Saptasati' also depicts that Goddess Durga comes time after time, armed with all the powers of the gods and all the weapons in their armoury, that is She comes with the entire power of good arrayed behind Her, to kill the 'Asuras', who represent the evil, and thereby to rid this earth of their scourge.

This idea of good killing the evil by force is not confined to India alone. Zoroastrianism also preaches the continuous fight by the good to suppress the evil. Islam permits the use of force to stop evil. This idea is also found in the Bible wherein Archangel St. Michael is recognised as the head of the heavenly hosts and he symbolises the forces of good vanquishing the forces of evil represented by the dragon or the demon. There is a famous sixteenth century painting by Guido Renni in Rome which depicts Archangel St. Michael killing the demon. This is similar to the vision of Goddess Durga killing Mahisasura. It was but appropriate that Archangel St. Michael was proclaimed in 1949 by Pope Pius XII as the 'Patron of the Police', the conqueror of the enemies of truth and justice. Similarly Sri Durga should really be the presiding Goddess of the Police in India.

Misunderstanding may be caused in the minds of many people—and some of them are very prominent in public life—how in this land of 'Ahimsa' (non-violence), where Mahatma Gandhi preached non-violence and sacrificed his life for its sake, can force be used

to put down evil? Does it not go against the very essence of the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi? People who think that Mahatma Gandhi preached non-violence in all circumstances are mistaken. Bhagwat Gita was his book of daily study and he would not have misunderstood Gita's teachings about the respective uses of non-violence and force. What Mahatma Gandhi propagated was the non-violence of the brave, the strong and the majority, even in international relations. This strength or bravery might be in the heart of one who felt big enough to meet alone the challenge of the multitude. It also might be the collective strength of many, that is the majority. Mahatma Gandhi, no doubt, always advocated non-violence as a means to settle international disputes, but he never preached non-violence of the weak, which, in other words, would mean their submission to evil and untruth. When the raiders attacked Kashmir and committed unspeakable horrors there and the whole valley was about to pass into their hands, Mahatma Gandhi approved of the Indian Government's action in sending troops for the protection of Kashmir. Nor in Noakhali (E. Bengal) did he ask the minority to practise non-violence and accept slavery and conversion. He opposed the move of the minority to evacuate East Bengal and he called for the able-bodied men in that community to come forward and die in open fight even if they did not have the courage to die non-violently. In this connection, he quoted the famous epitaph which marks the grave of the Thermopylae heroes:

Stranger! Tell Sparta, here her sons are laid

Such was her law and we that law obeyed.

Rather than submit to wrong like cowards, he asked them to die fighting like men. He even went so far as to tell the Bengal revolutionaries that for this purpose he was not asking them to discard the use of arms. (Tendulkar 'Life of Mahatma Gandhi')

Writing even as early as 1920 and 1921, Mahatma Gandhi said: "Where there is only a choice between cowardice and violence I advise violence. I cultivate the quiet courage of dying without killing. But to him who has not this courage, I advise that of killing and of being killed, rather than that of shamefully fleeing from danger. For he who runs away commits mental

violence; he runs away because he has not the courage to be killed while he kills". Again: "I would risk violence a thousand times rather than emasculation of the race. I would rather have India resort to arms to defend her honour than that she should in a cowardly manner become or remain a helpless victim to her own dishonour". (Romain Rolland—'Mahatma Gandhi').

He advocated the use of non-violence every time when one was strong. Use of force then would be quite unnecessary. It would be brutality, in fact. But when you are weak and when the majority or the more powerful is oppressing you and moral pressure on him fails and you have not got the courage or the heroism to fight non-violently as Mahatma Gandhi had, you certainly take to arms to protect yourself rather than submit to slavery and eternal shame. And, it is the duty of the police to protect the weak, to protect the minority, and suppress the evil. So, whether you go by the two great Shastras which are followed in India—the Bhagwat Gita and the Chandi—or whether you go by the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi, you come to the same conclusion that the use of force is fully justified when moral pressure fails and when the weak and the minority cannot be otherwise protected. In fact, to weaken in face of the bully will be an act of sin and cowardice which the policeman, the Kshatriya, must never permit himself to be guilty of.

But how are you to use this force? It must be done without any 'Himsa', that is there should be no use of force with malice or revenge, or without mercy. Violence should be used not so much to punish as to redeem the evil-doer from his persistence in destructive action. We can get our inspiration about this action from the Chandi which says that after their delivery from the oppressions by Mahisasura and others, the gods whilst bestowing praise on Goddess Mahalakshmi or Durga invoked her in the following words:—

एभिर्हंतैर्जगदुपैति सुखं तयैते
कुर्वन्तु नाम नरकाय चिराय पापम् ।
संप्रामृत्युमधिगम्य दिवं प्रयान्तु
मत्वेति नूनमहितान्विनिहंसि देवि ॥

दृष्ट्वैव किं न भवती प्रकरोति मस्म
 सर्वासुरानरिषु यत्प्रहिणोषि शस्त्रम् ।
 लोकान्प्रयान्तु रिपवोऽपि हि शस्त्रपूता
 इत्थं मतिर्भवति तेष्वपि तेऽतिसाध्वी ॥

(Sri Durga Saptasati, Ch. IV, 18, 19)

“O Goddess! You engaged in this merciful act of killing these demons not only to re-establish peace in this world but also so that having been killed by your hand these demons can be liberated even in spite of their having committed enormous sins. Otherwise, why would you design to fight with them when you could have turned them into ashes by your very sight. You killed them by your hand so that they also may be liberated. This is an act of kindness of yours.”

So the Goddess does not kill the demons only for destruction; She does it not only to save humanity but even to save the demons themselves from committing further misdeeds and thereby liberating them also from their evil genius.

‘Spare the rod and spoil the child’ is a very old saying. But, when the mother slaps her child, she does not do it out of malice or hatred, but out of love for the child, in order to correct him so that he does not do further mischief, which would be harmful to him.

The very foundation of society rests on individuals being able to repress their own evil desires and society as a whole collectively being able to repress those who transgress social laws and conventions. No society or State can exist unless the transgressors are repressed, and for this force has to be used. The Indian Constitution and the Indian laws, therefore, permit the use of force to repress evil but at the same time caution against brutality, revenge, a spirit of teaching a lesson, or of the use of force in excess of the minimum required.

Therefore, policemen should not falter if the use of force is necessary when moral and other peaceful methods have failed. They must use force with discrimination, without malice, without the feeling of revenge, without brutality, but with the spirit of correction and compassion; and once that act has been done, the person against

whom force has been employed should be treated exactly in the same way as others for whose protection force was used. For a policeman not to use force out of false sentimentality even when the strong and the wicked are oppressing the weak and the virtuous, even when reasoning has failed, is to default in his Kshatriya 'Dharma' to fight the evil and fall in evil ways. As the Gita says,

ततः स्वधर्म कीर्तिं च हित्वा पापमवाप्स्यसि ।

(Bhagwat Gita—Ch. II, 33)

"Then forfeiting thine own 'Dharma' and honour, thou shalt incur sin."

Protect the Good, Destroy the Evil

Explaining the reason of his re-incarnations, Sri Krishna said to Arjuna:

यदा यदा हि धर्मस्य ग्लानिर्भवति भारत ।
 अभ्युत्थानमधर्मस्य तदात्मानं सृजाम्यहम् ॥
 परित्राणाय साधूनां विनाशाय च दुष्कृताम् ।
 धर्मसंस्थापनार्थाय संभवामि युगे युगे ॥

(Bhagwat Gita—Ch. IV, 7, 8)

“O Bharata! Whenever there is decline of ‘Dharma’ (virtue) and rise of ‘Adharma’ (sin) then I body Myself forth (re-incarnate Myself). For the protection of the good, for the destruction of the wicked, and for the establishment of ‘Dharma’, I come into being in every age.”

Dr. Radhakrishnan has explained in ‘The Bhagwat Gita’—
 “Whenever there is a serious tension in life, when a sort of all-pervasive materialism invades the hearts of human souls, to preserve the equilibrium, an answering manifestation of wisdom and righteousness is essential. The Supreme, though unborn and undying, becomes manifest in human embodiment to overthrow the forces of ignorance and selfishness.... The purpose of the avatar is to inaugurate a new world, a new dharma. By his teaching and example, he shows how a human being can raise himself to a higher grade of life. The issue between right and wrong is a decisive one. God works on the side of the right..... God does not stand aside, when we abuse our freedom and cause disequilibrium. He does not simply wind up the world, set it on the right track and then let it jog along by itself. His loving hand is steering it all the time.”

This 'sloka' has had profound influence in my life as a police officer. Indeed, it has haunted me throughout my service career. I saw in these words of Sri Krishna a pointer to my own duties and how I should perform them. Should I not call out to all people in my district and say:—"O Man, whenever and wherever there is decline or suppression of virtue or good and rise of sin or evil, or there is disequilibrium caused by social disturbances, whether night or day, sun or rain, dry or wet, near or far, I will appear for the protection of the good and the weak; for the destruction of the wicked and for the establishment of peace and the law I shall appear at all times."

Is it not the duty of the police to be present wherever there is a crime, wherever there is suppression of virtue, wherever there is oppression against the weak, wherever there is an upsurge of immorality, wherever there is destruction of man's creations, and wherever there is fear and trouble in man's heart? Should he wait for good weather? Should distance deter him? Should the tediousness of the journey be too much for him? Should the difficult nature of the work discourage him? Should he quail before any anticipated opposition? Will he traverse only the easy and the comfortable path? Should he not be the 'Kshatriya' who should be ever ready to fight on the side of right and lay down his life?

The honest policeman must answer these questions. He will find in these words of Sri Krishna an eternal source of inspiration.

"Protect the People" is the motto of the police throughout the world. The Sanskrit translation of the word 'police' is 'Rakhshi', i.e. one who protects. Whom do you protect and against whom? You protect the good man against the bad; you protect the woman and the child against the kidnappers and abductors; you protect the weak community against the strong; you protect the poor against the rich; you protect a man's property against thieves and robbers; you protect his morals; you protect his material creations; you protect his liberty and freedom. How do you protect? By fighting the evil and destroying the evil forces but mingling the use of force always with kindness and compassion and with the aim for correction and not revenge. You protect the weak and the poor, the

woman and the child by taking action against the wicked, against the oppressors who may be strong and rich and against the kid-nappers, abductors and exploiters of human person and labour. You destroy the evil in the oppressor by instructing him on the right lines, by arresting him and then by prosecuting him, and it may even be necessary for you to destroy him if the other means fail. You protect a man's property by guarding his home, his fields and gardens, and by apprehending the thief, the burglar, the robber and the cheat. You protect his morals by suppressing gambling dens, brothels, white trade, preventing smuggling and other forms of crimes involving moral turpitude. You protect the fields and the crops of the people from ravages by wild animals by destroying them; you protect forests; you protect bridges; you protect buildings; you protect factories. In fact, you protect everything that goes to increase the prosperity and happiness of the people as a whole. You protect the government itself against subversion and foreign intrigues. You protect the frontiers of the country against foreign incursions. There is no field of protection which is outside your scope of work, and you must arrive in time again and again to protect, whenever evil raises its head, whenever peace is disturbed, and whenever danger threatens your country.

The motto of the Central Police Training College is 'Satya, Seva, Surakshna', i.e. 'Truth, Service and Protection'. What is Truth? Truth is right and right is truth. Nothing can be right unless it is true and nothing true can be but right. In life practice of truth is but working on the side of right. It is rightful work in all circumstances which gives a man identity with God. The religion which Lord Buddha preached consisted of the eightfold path—'Right Views, Right Aspirations, Right Speech, Right Conduct, Right Living, Right Effort, Right Mindfulness and Right Rapture'. These eight right paths would lead people to the ultimate Truth. It is the duty of the police to practise these right paths in their own lives and enforce them in their public life. These right paths are enjoined in the laws of the land in one way or another, directly or indirectly, and the true policeman will uphold Truth by ensuring that these commands interwoven in the texture of our laws are

obeyed. Dr. Radhakrishnan says—"The issue between right and wrong is a decisive one. God works on the side of the right". For the policeman also the issue of right and wrong must be decisive, and he must work on the side of the right. It is thus that he will uphold truth.

What is 'Seva'? Seva is service to humanity. This is the greatest religion that can be preached or practised. God Himself comes as 'Avatar' to serve people. For this Lord Vishnu re-incarnates Himself again and again. For this came Buddha, came Christ, came Mohammad, came Chaitanya, came Mahatma Gandhi—to serve the people. Sri Chaitanya said that it was a privilege for God to serve His 'Bhaktas' (devotees) who followed the right path.

Virtue cannot grow unless there is peace and equilibrium. Social tensions, political, economic or moral, all bring about a state of unrest or disequilibrium which foster vice. It is only in an atmosphere of peace and order that man can develop both individually and socially. King Parikshit put a dead snake round the neck of a Rishi because the Rishi, as he was observing silence, did not point out the correct path through the jungle to the king. When the Rishi's son came and saw the snake round his father's neck, he cursed that Parikshit would die of snakebite. The Rishi, breaking his silence, remonstrated and said, "Parikshit is a good king, he has maintained peace and order in this kingdom and that is why I can practise 'Tapasya' (meditation) without disturbance". Maintenance of peace and equilibrium in society is essential for the protection of society. It is to give himself this peace and equilibrium that man gives himself and society the Constitution from which flow all laws, and the aim of all laws is to maintain this state in society. Dr. Radhakrishnan says—"When people abuse their freedom and cause disequilibrium, God does not stand aside.... His loving hand guides people all the time." Similarly whenever there is any form of disturbance in society, the policeman cannot stand aside and let things drift. He must intervene and his firm but kind and righteous hand must steer events all the time.

It is the duty enjoined by law on the police to prevent the commission of offences and public nuisances, to apprehend the

offenders, and to maintain peace and order so that every individual in society can enjoy his liberty when it does not clash with the interest of society, and also the fruits of his labour and enterprise without exploiting others. These are the duties which every individual living in society must perform if social progress is to be maintained and these are the responsibilities which have been delegated to the police through the State which men have formed to secure their moral and material well-being. Therefore, the police is an organised body of civil servants whose particular duties are the preservation of good order, the prevention and detection of crime and the enforcement of laws. It is the primary constitutional force for the protection of individuals in the enjoyment of their legal rights. The policeman is designed to stand between the powerful and the weak, to prevent oppression, disaster and crime, i.e. to protect in all circumstances and to represent the cause of law and order at all times and at all places. On every road and bridge and in every field and beach, in every forest and hill, the policeman stands for good citizenship as an emblem of Truth and Right. He is a reality that even the most ignorant man can comprehend.

Dr. Radhakrishnan says—"Love and mercy are ultimately more powerful than hatred and cruelty." Destruction of evil is done out of love for the humanity and it is really a merciful act. It is a deliverance not only for the oppressed people but also for the oppressor. Sri Krishna did not spread hatred by killing Kansa or Sisupal; he spread love. He not only saved people but saved these two souls from the torments of their own evil doings. The policeman must cultivate love and mercy in his difficult work which involves the use of force on many occasions. But rightly and correctly done, without any malice or revenge, he will not arouse any feelings of hatred or animosity.

Dr. Radhakrishnan says—"God lives in man and manifests Himself in man's good qualities. Man reaches upto God by practising in life all these qualities." The policeman, who must embody in himself everything that is good in man, is the servant of the people, that is of the God in people, to help man in his path to salvation and freedom. Therefore, it is not at all surprising that the philosophy

of police work, contained in the three simple words "Protect the People", means protection of the good and destruction of the evil, the purpose for which God Himself comes time after time to the earth when things go out of man's control. So as Sri Krishna urged Arjuna—'Uttistha Yudhyaswa', i.e. 'get up and fight', you must get up, put on your belt, take your stick and go out to fight crime, to fight oppression, to fight immorality, to fight exploitation, to fight disorder, to fight danger, to fight all forces which go to dehumanise and degrade individuals and families, which undermine and weaken society, and which endanger the country. The policeman must emerge time after time, and appear at all hours and at all places where any form of social disequilibrium has raised its head. No weakness, no false sentimentality, no hesitation should come to his mind; no pressures, no temptations, no fears should deflect him from right action however hard it may be. That is the only way he can discharge the great trust that has been placed on him, i.e., service to humanity.

Go it Alone

The Bhagwat Gita says:

सुखदुःखे समे कृत्वा लाभालाभौ जयाजयौ ।
ततो युद्धाय युज्यस्व नैवं पापमवाप्स्यसि ॥

(Ch. II, 38)

“Having made pain and pleasure, gain and loss, conquest and defeat, the same, engage thou then in battle. So shalt thou incur no sin”.

Dr. Radhakrishnan explains the significance of this sloka as follows: “Without yielding to the restless desire for change, without being at the mercy of emotional ups and downs, let us do the work assigned to us in the situation in which we are placed. When we acquire faith in the Eternal and experience Its reality, the sorrows of the world do not disturb us. He who discovers his true end of life and yields to it utterly is great of soul. Though everything else is taken away from him, though he has to walk the streets, cold, hungry and alone, though he may know no human being into whose eyes he can look and find understanding, he shall yet be able to go his way with a smile on his lips for he has gained inward freedom.”

It is this inward freedom after fixing the aim in a policeman's life that can protect him from hundreds of external pressures which would tend to confuse his mind and detract him from his path of duty. This inward freedom comes from a complete faith in the purpose of one's mission, in the methods one will use to achieve that end, and in the way he will treat those who will oppose him in the fulfilment of his task. The cause which he is fighting for must be noble, and, fortunately for the police, in all actions which

the police have to take in course of their work for the protection of the individual in the exercise of his constitutional, economic, religious, moral and personal rights and liberties, for the protection of the society against transgression and disruption of all types, for the protection of the State against disintegration and subversion, and for the protection of the country against foreign intruders, the cause is always noble and there need not be the slightest hesitation about making this his life's mission. Then, the methods which he will adopt to serve the cause should be correct, honest, just, merciful, unexceptionable in every way and according to law. If he violates any of these, he will be caught in the toils of his own labour, and will not be able to disentangle himself, and events in overwhelming force will press on him to confuse the equilibrium of his mind and destroy all chances of his gaining inward freedom. Even firm acts outwardly looking harsh must be performed with a sense of kindness and all traces of revenge, malice and cruelty should be banished. If correct methods have been adopted, then all criticism levelled against him by interested or ignorant people will scatter like arrows hitting a piece of solid granite. There should be no personal ambition but only a sense of mission and doing what is duty. Success should not make him proud; failure should not make him sad; both should be taken in his stride. Pain and pleasure in the course of the work must be taken alike, and difficulties, obstructions, handicaps should not break his morale. On the other hand, an easy success should cause no particular elation in his mind.

How often have I not conjured up the famous portrait of Mahatma Gandhi wrapped in a white Khadi Chadar with a stick in hand, marching alone on his famous Dandi March! And how often have I not compared this sight with the sight of a lonely constable with a 'lathi' in hand, treading the lanes and by-lanes of the streets in dark nights when the entire town is in deep slumber. How often has come to my mind the spectacle of our men, our constables on the frontiers which are frozen with snow throughout the whole year, at heights where nothing living grows, doing their lonely patrols for the protection of the country. Turning over in my mind

the vision of Mahatma Gandhi doing his lonely march and of a constable on his lonely vigil, it has often come to me as a realisation that all this is done for a cause—one is for the freedom of India, the other is for the protection of that freedom. I remember in 1930 having asked a follower of Mahatma Gandhi how the Mahatma expected to gain freedom marching alone to Dandi. He replied, "He is alone today, tomorrow he will have seven people with him, day after tomorrow seventy, and the next day seven hundred and the number will go on increasing to seven millions and ultimately his movement will embrace the entire population of India". This did happen. Within two months of the start of this famous march, thousands and thousands of Indians followed him in the struggle for freedom. Mahatma Gandhi showed the way that the cause being just, the means to achieve being correctly applied, one person alone was enough to achieve the objective. Speaking at a convocation of Kashi Vidyapith he said, "I know that your fewness worries you often.... In every great cause, it is not the number of fighters that counts but it is the quality of which they are made that becomes the deciding factor. The greatest men of the world have all stood alone". The lonely march of Sri Vinoba Bhave in his effort to bring harmony in land relations in India is also an example of the same type.

One recalls in this connection the famous song of Tagore, entitled 'Akela Chalo Re' (Go it Alone). This was a favourite song of Mahatma Gandhi, because he was for the greater part of his life and struggle digging the lonely furrow. Even when the entire country disagreed with him, even when the whole world questioned his approach, and even when his closest followers were sceptical about his methods, he had faith in God and himself; and, sticking to the right methods, he achieved the impossible.

एकला चलो रे

यदि तोर डाक दूने केउ ना आसे तबे एकला चलो रे ।

एकला चलो, एकला चलो, एकला चलो रे ॥

यदि केउ कथा ना कय, ओरे ओरे ओ अमागा,

यदि सबाइ थाके मुख फिराये, सबाइ करे मय—
तबे पराण खुले

ओ तुइ मुख फुटे तोर मनेर कथा एकला बलो रे ॥
यदि सबाइ फिरे याय, ओरे ओरे ओ अमागा,

यदि गहन पथे यावार काले केउ फिरे ना चाय—
तबे पथेर काँटा

ओ तुइ रक्तमाखा चरणतले एकला दलो रे ॥

यदि आलो ना घरे, ओरे ओरे ओ अमागा,

यदि झडबादले आँघार राने दुयार देय घरे—
तबे बज्रानले

आपन बुकेर पांजर ज्वालिये निते एकला ज्वलो रे ॥

If they answer not to thy call, walk alone,
If they are afraid and cower mutely facing the wall,
O thou of evil luck,
Open thy mind and speak out alone.
If they turn away, and desert you when crossing the wilderness,
O thou of evil luck,
trample the thorns under thy tread,
and along the blood-lined track travel alone.
If they do not hold up the light
when the night is troubled with storm,
O thou of evil luck,
with the thunder flame of pain ignite thine own heart
and let it burn alone.

(Tagore—'Poems')

This should be an appropriate song which every policeman should learn to sing alone or turn over in his mind whenever he finds that he is alone in his mission, alone physically or alone mentally—alone mentally in the sense that others do not agree with the method adopted by him. Many will be the doubting heads which will nod; many will be the sly smiles to signify that he is a fool; many and

harsh will be the comments behind his back;—but let all these not disturb him, provided he has stuck to the right, the correct and the lawful methods in performing his duty.

‘Go alone’ should be in the heart of every policeman. Even normally, unlike the army which always works in units, a policeman works alone. He is alone while patrolling streets at night, guarding a bridge, watching out on the frontier, maintaining peace, investigating crime or regulating traffic. While others are in deep slumber, he must be awake and active. If others show their heels in face of danger, he must stand fast; if others do not co-operate, he still must go his own way. If others go mad, he must retain his sanity. He must not allow his judgment to be swayed by the prevailing mob sentiments. Often he has to stand up alone against a multitude of his own community, all cursing him and threatening him, because he would not let them do the wrong which in their madness they think is right. But, if he is firm, if he stands like a rock against the tidal wave of human unrest trying to sweep everything before it, he will find that they will break against his firmness. And ultimately when peace is restored, his erstwhile opponents will call him the ‘Man of the Moment’ and praise him for having saved them from the utter ignominy of harming the weak and the minority. Thus if all his faculties are properly applied in the right direction and in the right way, alone he will be able to accomplish things which many together following the wrong path will not be able to do. “Be a lamp unto yourselves” were the last words of Gautama Buddha. The policeman must light the lamp in his heart and go his path alone. As Walt Whitman said—“Not I, not any one else can travel that road for you. You must travel it for yourself”. The policeman has to traverse this road dictated by his conscience, his religious sense, his training, and seek his own salvation.

Whether he gets the brickbat or the bouquet, whether he wins or loses, he should remain unmoved as the Gita teaches, and he must carry on. And should he fall by the way fighting for justice, he gains heaven. हतो वा प्राप्स्यसि स्वर्ग—“Dying (in a just fight) thou gainest heaven” is what Sri Krishna told Arjuna.

Public Trust

The institution of the police is for the purpose of protecting the good and suppressing the evil in society by correctly enforcing the rules and regulations which man has created for himself to secure his moral development as an individual and material development in society. The policeman represents these laws, and therefore he must observe these laws meticulously both in his private and in his public life. It is natural that society wants to see in him all the virtues which it wants to foster amongst all its members. Indeed, the public demands a higher standard of integrity and conduct from him than from private citizens. And naturally the public would not entrust their life, honour and property to the keeping of a policeman who is not trustworthy, and he cannot be deemed to be trustworthy, unless he possesses all the virtues which the public wish to foster in the individuals.

By the very nature of his work to discharge public trust, the policeman must work all the time in public gaze. This applies to all public servants but more especially to the police. The policeman may conceal some facts from a few, but by and large the public will come to know of his acts and his methods. There is no way by which the police can escape this continuous focussing of the X-ray on him, which brings out the minutest fault in him in a clear form to the people at large. The public expect the police to be absolutely white. The slightest weakness of character in him will show up in the same way as the minutest speck of black shows up in white. A policeman may be deluded by the idea that he can hide his misdeeds, but he will be sorry to find that, though his immediate superiors may not know, his subordinates and the public will know. A private person may be able to hide his crime or sins for some time,

but a policeman cannot. He must always be conscious that whatever he does, right or wrong, gets registered in the minds of the people, who, at the time of reckoning, will not forget to consider this and the measure of their trust will depend on it.

The very basis of a democratic government is public support. If public support is not forthcoming, the government cannot function; and want of support may result in the constitution being scrapped and power concentrated in the hands of a dictator. In democracy, everybody's opinion counts and unless that opinion supports the government, it is not possible for the government to succeed. The same applies to the relationship between the public services and the public. No policeman will succeed unless he is supported enthusiastically by the public. The public attitude to the police may be helpful or obstructive or indifferent. But in order to succeed, the police must be able to secure a helpful public attitude. If the public is obstructive or indifferent, no police force can function. There are 3,00,000 civil policemen in this country against a population of 450 millions, giving roughly an average of one policeman to 1500 persons in the population. Obviously one policeman by himself cannot look after the interests of such a large number of people unless the people enthusiastically support him. But if the police is ruler-appointed in a hostile country, none from the public would voluntarily help the policeman; and so even the most elementary police duties would be left unfulfilled. Even indifferent attitude of the people will bring the same result.

Every police work done honestly and in accordance with law must bring enthusiastic public support, because the work is in the interest of the public. Hence in their preventive and detective work it should be normal for the police to get the fullest measure of public support. Then why do people deny the policeman this support? There is only one reason—they may not have trust in the police. And if the police is not trusted, then there cannot be any co-operation from the public. Public trust is the foundation on which the entire police work is built.

How should this trust be cultivated, or how will this trust come? This trust can come only when the public see that the police are

carrying out the functions specifically assigned to them by society in the manner laid down by it and are able to produce the result. So, for creating public trust two things count—firstly the means to be adopted and secondly the result achieved. If the means adopted is immoral, illegal, highhanded or something which society does not approve of, then the police will be taken as the representative of a very corrupt and autocratic government, which the public certainly do not support. On the other hand, if the police continually fail in their attempt to achieve the result, serious doubts will arise in public minds about their efficiency and it will lead to the loss of public confidence, and consequently public support will not be forthcoming. The public while entrusting certain work to the police want them to achieve results, and repeated failures to achieve results naturally make the people become contemptuous of the police. Wrong methods breed mistrust, failure produces contempt; so the police get public mistrust and contempt instead of public confidence and respect which alone should be their armour. Public support must be enthusiastic and voluntary and must be forthcoming always. This is possible only when the public trusts the policeman and has confidence in his ability. Want of trust leads to erosion of police popularity and efficiency. If the police force does not win public trust, it becomes inefficient. When it is inefficient, it loses further support. Thus the vicious chain goes on poisoning police-public relations, making each hostile to the other instead of being each other's enthusiastic supporter.

Therefore, the creation of public trust depends on the policeman being able to present himself as a symbol of all that is good in society. Unless he can present a picture which is good, unless he can prove by deeds his absolute sense of integrity, fairness, justice and kindness, he will not win public trust. The most important of all these is integrity, because from integrity the other qualities flow. On the other hand, if integrity does not exist then bad qualities come up, suppressing the good.

'Kama' (lust), 'Krodha' (anger) and 'Lobha' (greed) are the three vices which, Sri Krishna said, led to all other vices, and it is by suppressing these three that a man gains control over himself.

But out of these, 'Kama' is the most powerful and from it grow 'Krodha' and 'Lobha'. Lust is not only for money, it is for power, it is for possession, and it leads a man to further and further acts of avarice. Lust is insatiable. The more one panders to it, the more it grows. The following quotation from the Bhagwat Gita would show what happens to a person driven by lust:-

इदमद्य मया लब्धमिदं प्राप्स्ये मनोरथम् ।
 इदमस्तीदमपि मे भविष्यति पुनर्धनम् ॥
 असौ मया हतः शत्रुर्हनिष्ये चापरानपि ।
 ईश्वरोऽहमहं भोगी सिद्धोऽहं बलवान्सुखी ॥
 आद्योऽभिजनवानस्मि कोऽन्योऽस्ति सदृशो मया ।
 यक्ष्ये दास्यामि मोदिष्ये इत्यज्ञानविमोहिताः ॥
 अनेकचित्तविभ्रान्ता मोहजालसमावृताः ।
 प्रसक्ताः कामभोगेषु पतन्ति नरकेऽशुचौ ॥

(Ch. XVI, 13 to 16)

"This today I have gained. This desire I shall obtain. This wealth is mine. That also will be mine in future. This enemy has been slain. Others also shall I slay. I am the lord, I enjoy, I am successful, powerful and happy. I am rich and well-born. Who else is equal to me? I will sacrifice, I will give, I will rejoice. Thus deluded by ignorance, bewildered by many fancies, entangled by the meshes of delusion, addicted to the gratification of lust, they fall down into a foul hell".

The path is slippery, and once a man falls a victim to lust he goes down with increasing momentum till he reaches the bottom. He not only destroys himself, but he destroys the reputation of the service which he represents and even of the government itself, because the reputation that a government, service or department carries with the public is influenced to a great degree by the reaction of the public to the impact of the personality of its individual members. No service can bring a better name to the government than the police, and no service can bring the country to greater disgrace than the police. The whole foundation of democracy itself rests on the

police being able to hold on to democratic methods of work, but this will depend on how much public support they can get after winning their trust by strictly following the path of integrity, justice, fairness and kindness.

Integrity is essential for winning public trust, which is a prerequisite of getting public support on which the entire foundation of police work rests.

Next comes the question of being able to deliver the goods. The policeman must have the power and the skill not only to protect the good but also to restrain or destroy the evil. Rather he can protect the good only by restraining or destroying the evil. Of course, destruction does not mean physical annihilation, but destruction of the evil tendencies. It is possible to achieve this even purely by moral and mental pressure and by the very presence of an honest policeman. But whether he uses the method of moral pressure or physical restraint, he must produce the result because, if he constantly fails to do so, he fails by the mission of his life, which is to secure, for the public, security which is essential for their welfare. Therefore, his whole reputation will depend on his ability to perform successfully the tasks of which he has been placed in charge. His failure to suppress crime, immorality and disorder sets in motion such a chain of events that the entire social equilibrium is disturbed and all sense of security is lost. The public will not analyse the causes of the failure; the fact that he has failed will be enough to convince them that he is not their man, i.e. the man who can protect them against the transgressors. And when he fails, and if this failure continues in other policemen also, then the entire department comes for blame and along with the department the government suffers. Hence one comes across the repeated spectacle of the government being severely criticised for failure of individual executives in certain places, which leads to the spread of disequilibrium. History has repeated examples of governments falling and even societies disintegrating because of their inability to discharge their police functions correctly.

Public support cannot be secured by mere show or talks or lectures. Public support is the end-product of hard work success-

fully done observing a high standard of integrity and in strict accordance with the laws of the land. If the policeman is regarded as honest, and if he is able to perform the task allotted to him, he does not require any public relations officer to build up his public image. In every act, movement and talk, he automatically and unconsciously builds up his own public relations and gains public trust which brings him public support and helps him further in his work. There is no shortcut to gaining public support; only hard and honest work will gain it; but at the same time he must achieve success in his work, which requires hard training and continued application.

It is a mistaken idea to dissociate integrity from efficiency. A dishonest officer may be technically efficient, but, as he will get no public trust, he will be forced to take recourse to questionable methods to achieve the result. And the more he toes that line, the more he gets discredited; the coarser he becomes, the more he gets people's distrust. Instead of loving and respecting him, people are frightened of him, because they fear that the illegal methods which he has applied against somebody else, he may apply to others in similar circumstances. No one feels safe in the presence of a policeman without integrity. Hence there should be no recognition of efficiency without integrity. There is much better reason to recognise integrity even though the person concerned may not be efficient, because at least people will have confidence in him that he will do nothing wrong, and they may come forward to help him.

Public trust is essential; without it the entire foundation of police service disappears. And, unless this public trust is created, with the gulf widening between the police and the public, the entire basis of democracy is endangered. The twin road to public trust lies through integrity and efficiency. The policeman has to traverse both the paths simultaneously with aim fixed at the mission of his life, i.e. to preserve the liberty, security and happiness of his fellow beings.

Ends and Means

There is a book by Tagore, 'Char Adhyaya' (Four Chapters). The poet shows here that even when persons of high integrity and courage, inspired by noble sentiments for the liberation of the country, do not strictly adhere to correct methods to secure their objective, they slowly get corroded and gradually degrade themselves and lose sight of the great mission with which they had started. Realising this degradation both in himself and amongst his comrades, the hero, in anguish, cries forth "that the life of a country can be saved by killing its soul is the monstrously false doctrine that nationalists all over the world are blowing forth stridently". The soul of the nation rests on good deeds. Bad deeds for whatever purpose they may be done would produce only bad results. Not only the end that you look for must be right, but the means that you adopt to achieve the end, must also be correct.

It is wrong to think that one can achieve good results by adopting questionable methods. This is not only applicable to the actions of the individuals in society but even to society and the country as a whole. Does history show any example that wars have led to the cessation of wars? Pandit Nehru said that they created more problems—problems of hatred, problems of revenge and problems of unsatisfied glory. Often the purpose for which the nations went to war is lost and unexpected and unwelcome results ensue. Any wrong act done sets in motion a chain of reactions which not only affect the person or country harmed but even those that do the harm. Therefore, it is strange that people do not shrink from taking to questionable methods even when they are aiming at noble objectives.

This is why Mahatma Gandhi consistently disapproved of

violence in his struggle for India's independence. It is for this reason that he preached the twin path of truth and non-violence, and he ultimately demonstrated the power of non-violence. He knew that if wrong methods were adopted, the revolution would be drowned in a sea of blood with no result. So time and again, during the great independence struggle, whenever there was any deviation from the rightful path, he (Mahatma) called the nation to a halt and did not hesitate even to reverse the gear. He knew what Tagore's hero had learnt to his cost that one could not save the nation's life after killing its soul. And he wanted independent India with a soul, not an India without its soul.

Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru has said, "The basic thing is that wrong means will not lead to right results, and that this is no longer merely an ethical doctrine but a practical proposition". He has explained: "Not only violence cannot possibly lead to a solution of any major problem because violence itself has become too terrible and destructive, even a small scale violence will not help because it would produce an atmosphere of conflict and disruption and it would be absurd to imagine that out of this conflict the social progressive forces would win".

This theory is as much applicable to the life of individuals as it is to groups or nations. When Gautama Buddha preached his eightfold path, he wanted to convey that if one wanted to improve oneself and reach salvation, it would not be by merely worshipping and praying but by thinking, acting and behaving rightly all the time. You cannot reach the good by doing the bad. You cannot reach the summit by wallowing in the mud of the valley. Bad action leads you to bad ends. To hide one untruth, you have to tell a hundred untruths. It will gradually become a habit—which will make your character coarse and vulgar. You will become insensitive to higher feelings. Fulfilment of one desire will give rise to others and you will be driven by your desires all the time never finding satiety, contentment or peace.

This principle of right means to achieve the good end is even more applicable to the policeman in all aspects of his day-to-day work. It is true that by using questionable methods a policeman

may be able to obtain a quick result. But the very application of such methods recoils on him. People know that he has used questionable methods. They lose their trust in him and in future withhold their ready co-operation from him. This leads to the policeman's failure to solve many other cases. In order to overcome his failure he is forced to adopt more questionable methods and he thereby not only creates indifference but downright hostility amongst the people. In such an atmosphere it is impossible for him to work and, particularly in times of trouble and emergency, he will be isolated and rendered ineffective. Therefore, an immediate result in a specific case should not be considered to be the be all and end all of a policeman's work; he has to cover a much larger ground, and this ground can be covered only with public support which comes if he gets public trust, and that, in its turn, can be gained only if he is strictly scrupulous in his method of work. But if he goes on using wrong methods, a habit of wrong doing will be formed and it will be extremely difficult for him to reverse his method even if he ever realises his mistake. As in case of a private person, he will gradually become insensitive to high and noble feelings, develop coarseness in his very character and he will repel people due to fear and hatred which he will generate in them instead of attracting them through trust and love.

This does not mean that result is not important. Result must be striven for, because it is the result which gives a purpose to life, and a direction to endeavour. But his striving for result must not make a policeman insensible to the right or wrong of what he is doing. If he is thinking only of the result, then he loses his sense of balance and forgets other factors and gets bound down by vices of his own creation in trying to achieve the result. Therefore, though the result must be laboured for, this must be done with a spirit of non-attachment. It is non-attachment which the Bhagwat Gita preaches from beginning to end. Without this non-attachment even the best of actions becomes only partially fruitful. Hence Sri Krishna taught: "You do your work and you leave the result to Me". In every religious function in which we take part, we invariably end by the 'Mantra' to Lord Vishnu that "I consign to You

even the merit that I gain from this 'Puja' of mine". And, yet, in our day-to-day life we are so blinded by our attachment to the result that we lose sight of this great truth which has been preached not only in India but by all religions of the world. Gautama Buddha preached non-attachment—so did Jesus Christ. If we go to the kernel of the Communist theory—"From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs"—, the same idea of non-attachment can be seen. It is only in a state of non-attachment that a man can work unselfishly without craving for result all the time.

The ideal man, according to the Bhagwat Gita, is the non-attached man: non-attached to bodily sensations, desires and lusts; non-attached to power and possessions; non-attached to anger and hatred; non-attached to friends and relations; non-attached to wealth, fame and social position. But non-attachment is by no means a negative concept. It is very much a positive one. Non-attachment comes from the practice of charity and courage and the cultivation of generosity and disinterestedness. Non-attachment requires the adoption of an intensely positive attitude towards life. It is absolutely essential for everyone in public service to cultivate this positive and non-attached attitude. It is this non-attached attitude which will enable him to be careful about the means whilst aiming at something high.

Non-attachment does not mean inaction—it means on the other hand intense action. Sri Krishna said—

कर्मण्येवाधिकारस्ते मा फलेषु कदाचन ।

मा कर्मफलहेतुर्भूर्मा ते सङ्गोऽस्त्वकर्मणि ॥

(Bhagwat Gita—Ch. II, 47)

"Thy right is to work only; but never to think of the fruits thereof. Be thou not the producer of the fruits of thy actions; neither let thy attachment be towards inaction".

Dr. Radhakrishnan explains, "This famous verse contains the essential principle of disinterestedness. When we do our work, plough or paint, sing or think, we will be deflected from disinterestedness, if we think of fame or income or any such extraneous considera-

tion. Nothing matters except the good will, the willing fulfilment of the purpose of God. Success or failure does not depend on the individual but on other factors as well. Giordano Bruno says: 'I have fought, that is much, victory is in the hands of fate' ".

Therefore, non-attachment does not mean that a police officer should not try to stop an outbreak of crime in his town by taking the plea that he does not bother whether there is more or less crime. This is not non-attachment to fruits of action but inaction—which Sri Krishna condemns. Such inaction really grows out of sloth, which, according to Buddha, is the greatest vice. He should make every effort possible to stop the crime, but he should follow only the methods which are applicable according to the law and which the people will consider right. Still if he fails, he should not lose heart and be jealous of those who have succeeded. That is non-attachment. And if he succeeds, he should not feel superior to those who have failed. That would be non-attachment. He should be able to arrest the criminal and get him punished and yet not feel any personal animosity or hatred towards him. That is non-attachment. But it is not non-attachment if he does not apprehend the criminal on the ground that by arresting him he would be wreaking vengeance on that criminal. Then he is getting attached to his own ego, to his own pride; he is practising escapism. If he sees a distressed person but does not help him arguing that sorrow or pleasure is the same to him, that is not non-attachment. But if he helps him and yet does not feel elated by his action, that is non-attachment.

In one sloka, Sri Krishna has described the virtues which the right actor in life should practise:-

मुक्तसंज्ञोऽनहंवादी धृत्युत्साहसमन्वितः ।

सिद्ध्यसिद्ध्योर्निर्विकारः कर्ता सात्त्विक उच्यते ॥

(Bhagwat Gita—Ch. XVIII, 26)

"An agent, who is free from attachment, non-egotistic, endowed with fortitude and enthusiasm and unaffected in success or failure, is called 'Sattvika'".

A policeman must have fortitude and enthusiasm, perseverance and initiative, courage and application. But he should shed his pride and ego, and success or failure should not move him, that is success should not make him proud and complacent, nor should failure drive him to take to wrong methods. And, above all, he must be free from attachment to the result of his work. When he attains this spirit of non-attachment, he will be able to see everything in proper light and will not be deflected from the right path to attain the result. Means then will be as important to him as the end.

Integrity

Speaking of the role of the police in national life, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has said, "The very first thing is for the police force to have a reputation for integrity. And the first thing about integrity is the crudest thing, i.e. financial integrity. We must stop corruption in public life and that includes the police. It is very important because it affects all our national life. Particularly police, being supposed to be the guardians of public welfare, have a particular responsibility and I think ceaseless effort should be made to stop this corruption, limit it, check it and create an atmosphere in the mind of every policeman that this kind of thing is something which must not be done, and thus create an atmosphere in the country also in favour of the police. The attitude of the public towards the police makes a world of difference in the policeman's work. It must be a helpful attitude. But only a police officer of integrity will get help from the public. It is of great importance because if the foundation goes, if police is not trusted by the people and is charged with all kinds of malfeasances, then the very guardians of law and order are placed in disrepute and the entire standard of national life is lowered."

People like to see the policeman as an emblem of morality, courage and steadfastness. Unless these qualities are present, it will be impossible for the policeman to arouse public trust in himself and get all the public support which is essential for the success of his work. This public trust will come only if he is able to hold himself up as a person of unquestionable integrity, and at the same time if he is able to discharge the responsibilities placed on him. The public may tolerate transgressions by private persons but not by the upholders of law. But there is often a fall from the required high standard in the policeman's daily behaviour and work

both in private and in public life. This generates public distrust and makes the public hostile to the police. In this hostile atmosphere it becomes difficult for the policeman to discharge his duties for which he requires an atmosphere of co-operation and friendship.

One of the excuses for corruption is ascribed to inadequate salaries. Though there may be some truth in this as regards the lowest ranks of the police, salary alone does not explain the causes. Dishonesty is a psychological habit formed out of avarice, and dishonest men exist as much amongst the richer and the higher sections of the service as in the lower; and honesty is also found among both the sections. In fact, there are innumerable instances of police officers of the lowest rank being able to lead a strictly honest life when many of their better paid superiors have fallen victims to temptation. Dishonesty is not caused as much by actual want as by an avaricious temperament to get more. The need to get more comes from a multiplication of the needs of life not only for himself but for other members of his family also. Mahatma Gandhi insisted on the need to cut down personal wants, as a means to stand steadfast in the path of truth. Speaking of this Dr. Rajendra Prasad has said—"Great men simplify principles and make them easily intelligible to ordinary men. Gandhiji by insistence on this one simple thing (i.e. simple living) wanted to change the current of our whole life. Man should have perfect freedom to practise truth and non-violence. He cannot do it if he is under any kind of compulsion. Compulsion may take various forms. He can get rid of them by his own efforts. There are people who not only submit to compulsion but also exercise it on others.... Man has to win freedom from all kinds of compulsion. To the extent he succeeds in winning that freedom, to that extent only he becomes capable of observing truth. But if he goes on multiplying his physical needs without setting a limit to them, he will go on tightening the bonds of compulsion. Therefore, to gain true freedom, we must cut down our wants."

Ostentatious living not only compels the policeman to go beyond his legitimate means but also sets a bad example to his subordinates who feel tempted to follow him. Indeed, having raised his own standard

of living he expects others also to raise theirs and that is how he not only submits to compulsion himself but forces it on others. The first ingredient for a policeman's clean and honest life is simple and unostentatious living. He must not allow members of his family to take advantage of his position as a police officer to secure facilities for themselves which are not available to other members of the public. He must be able to resist their pressure, anger, tears and even satire to get more for them than he can legitimately afford. Simple living by cutting down needs is the fountain from which honesty flows and this is what the Father of the Nation taught us by strictly observing it himself and insisting it on his followers. Mode of living must conform to the legitimate income.

The next reason which a policeman often ascribes to his straying from the right path is political or other forms of pressure. Again, this is only partially true. Sometimes there is pressure, sometimes he acts in anticipation of pressure; but very often he uses this as an excuse for doing the wrong thing. Why should political pressure divert any public servant, more so a policeman, from the duty imposed on him by law? It is true that he may on some occasions be victimised by unscrupulous persons for not submitting to pressure. But what of that? An act is really honest when it calls for no return—material or otherwise. Suffering for upholding an ideal is what man lives for. Soldiers die or get maimed for the rest of their lives in battle for upholding the ideal of freedom. If one did not suffer for honesty, then there would be no virtue in it. We make Sri Ramchandra our ideal but do not realise that what made him great was the intense suffering extending over long long years which he willingly undertook to bear for the sake of truth. One does not have to recount the numerous examples of honest men sacrificing themselves for the sake of principles. Such sacrifices have been coming on from times immemorial and they continue to this day. There are fortunately many policemen and other public servants who are prepared to suffer for doing the right thing even in the face of political or other pressures. There is no reason why when some can do it others also cannot follow. The main reason is not political pressure but because the policeman has hidden skeletons in his cupboard

which he is afraid of exposing. It is want of integrity which gives him weakness in his joints, and he succumbs not only to political pressure but every form of pressure and blackmail.

For resisting pressures of all kinds, for doing the right thing even in the face of stiff opposition, to stand by one's convictions and principles, the policeman requires moral courage. He must have the courage to stand up to all forms of danger, physical and psychological, from whatever quarters it may come. If he flees in the face of danger, then he is morally a coward and loses respect of his fellow citizens. Even physical courage depends on moral courage. It is not the reckless who is courageous but the man who can weigh the pros and cons of the situation and is prepared to face the consequences. But moral courage can spring only from integrity. Every honest act will strengthen his courage and determination to face the world. Conversely, every dishonest act cuts at the very foundation on which he stands. The dishonest may show recklessness on occasions but not moral courage which helps him to face pleasant and unpleasant tasks with equanimity and take pleasure and pain in the same stride. Want of moral courage will dog every step of a policeman's life.

Temptations are many in the life of a policeman as a law-enforcing agent. Some of these are caused as he has to enforce laws behind which there is no adequate public sanction. Handling of brothels, gambling dens, illicit distillations come under this category. Though there is legislation against these offences and the police must enforce the laws, yet public sanction behind such legislation is not as strong as it is against other universally recognised offences like murder or theft. And the less there is public sanction behind a legislation, the more is the chance of corruption in enforcing it. The purpose for which these legislations have been passed are all good and noble but the public recognition of their being hindrances to collective living is not yet strong. It is necessary in such cases to create a public atmosphere first before the enactment of legislation. Mahatma Gandhi's crusade against untouchability did much more to slacken its rigours than any legislation abolishing it. The enforcement of laws relating to such offences opens the gates for many

other forms of crimes all of which open up avenues for corruption. Prohibition leads to illicit distillation, smuggling, cheating, robbery and rampant bribery. And because there is not sufficient public recognition of the need of prohibition, so public are indifferent and are often misled by interested parties and the police get no help from the public in their fight against these vices. However, as the laws have to be enforced, it is necessary for the policeman to observe the strictest propriety in handling such work.

What sometimes look innocuous or even noble on the surface have germs in them that lead to corruption. Collection of funds for any charities or even charitable institutions run by the police falls in this category. This is a dangerous practice, because this often tempts a policeman into corruption. He may not use force to collect the money, but he will not forget that some have subscribed for the good cause which he has sponsored and others have not, and this will always remain in his mind and he will not be able to avoid discrimination against the latter in the performance of his work. Hence the policeman should scrupulously avoid collection of funds for any purpose. Similarly acceptance of rewards from members of the public for good work done may by itself look innocent, but this opens up expectation for such rewards in the future also and amongst other police officers who also do good work; and non-fulfilment of this desire leads to disappointment. This expectation also develops into a habit, and a policeman starts expecting to get reward for every good work that he does though he is paid for it. Hence this is another type of act which ultimately leads to dishonesty and must be avoided. Similarly the use of free passes for shows of entertainment and for travels is also an unhealthy habit, because it makes the police dependent on getting some favours from certain people and they cannot avoid discriminating in favour of the person from whom the favour has been received. At least the giver will expect something in return and the policeman must never put himself in the obligation of others.

All these affect a policeman's financial integrity, and as Pandit Nehru has said, it is on the financial integrity that his reputation rests. If he deviates from the straight path and loses that reputation,

then he loses public trust which should be the foundation of all police work. Not only does he lower himself in public estimation but he lowers the standard of the entire national life. It is argued that so long as there are bribe givers there will be bribe takers. But the converse is also true that so long as there are bribe takers, there will be bribe givers. Or if there are no bribe takers, there will be no bribe givers. If one has to start with a social broomstick, then obviously one would choose the smaller area of a few hundred thousand policemen to clear than the vast field of several hundred millions of population. And it is on this smaller field that all attention should be concentrated and in this effort the policeman himself should be the foremost contributor. He must set his face against bribery at all times and in all circumstances.

The police is a law-enforcement agency. The duty of a policeman is to enforce laws which have been enacted by society for its protection. He must enforce the law in the manner which has been prescribed in the law. He cannot take the law into his own hands and use methods not sanctioned by law. But often he does it—not to enrich his pockets but with a false notion of doing service to society. Third degree, padding, fabrication, etc., fall in this category. He uses third degree to get a confession so that by securing a conviction he can rid society of a criminal. He pads or fabricates evidence for the same purpose. He does not expect any immediate gain to himself except probably the hope that he may get a reward. He sometimes does it with very good motive. But as the means adopted by him are illegal and wrong, he does not get any credit from society. On the contrary, he shows himself up in very bad light before the public who start becoming afraid of him. What he has done to one man, he may do to others also. Repugnance grows in the minds of the people in place of gratitude which the policeman has been seeking. Instead of being loved, respected and helped, he is feared, hated and shunned. He loses public trust and co-operation. His work becomes impossible and he takes recourse to more and more illegalities. This grows into a habit with him. He goes on degrading himself till he loses all sense of right or wrong. No legal or moral code justifies a

policeman using third degree or fabricating evidence or perjuring to secure a conviction.

Another serious shortcoming is what is called burking, i.e. non-registration of crime which should be investigated. This is done either for the purpose of showing good statistics of crime control, or because of negligence and sloth. Unregistered crime is generally of the professional type. As the unregistered crime is not investigated, the information, which could have been available from such investigation, is lost to the police in other cases and gangs grow up without the knowledge of the police station and carry on their depredations with impunity. As the volume of crime increases, the police have to take to burking more often to maintain favourable statistics. Burking is quite illegal, because a police officer must register every cognisable crime that is reported to him. But besides committing this illegality and writing false statistics, he really lets crime go unchecked in his area. Also, a person who comes to the policeman to report a crime comes in a state of distress. In that condition he expects help and sympathy from the police. If the case is not registered, he gets neither. He goes back with a very bad impression of the police. Is this the policeman who is meant for his protection and service? Then why does he not protect, why does he not help? The disappointed man no longer has any illusions about the policeman. It is impossible to build up public relations when hundreds of people go back disappointed and the criminals and the transgressors laugh and sneer and get further emboldened.

Continued practice of these irregular methods results in the development of brutality and coarseness in character, which makes the policeman vulgar and, therefore, he loses the respect and trust of the people. Public co-operation is withheld with the result that he perpetrates more acts of brutality. He becomes insensitive to right or wrong, good or evil. He is no longer a policeman to prevent transgressions but he himself becomes the transgressor in society. The fall is rapid. It grows in momentum as he goes down. He can no longer control himself. He is a dead loss to society and the State.

Many of the illegal acts are done not because the policeman

wants to make any personal profit but because he wants to produce results. He wants to produce the result because he wants his efficiency to be recognised as this will help in his career. But the policeman must understand that better results can be achieved even after discarding these illegal methods. That will be dependent on the education, the training, the application and the initiative of the policeman. He must have education to understand every development in life and society; he must have special training to teach him how to carry out his particular functions; he must work hard; he must apply himself to the job. Result does not come out of the air. Success is achieved by 95% of perspiration, 3% of intuition and 2% of luck. No ideal can be achieved without perseverance, that is without application. And the policeman must take initiative in everything to be ahead of the events and to be able to control the forces that are at play and he should not all the time be trailing behind. By following unexceptional methods and by his hard selfless work he will evoke response from the people's heart who will be ready to assist him. Even if he fails in any case, he will have their sympathy. Ascent by this method is not difficult and in addition he enjoys perfect peace and contentment within himself. He gets the love and respect which are his due. He is the true representative of the society—its helper, guide and protector.

The Policeman must observe all canons of discipline both in his public and private life. It is only then that he will be able to impose discipline amongst his subordinates. Indeed, if he is a disciplined person himself, his subordinates would take discipline from him willingly and trust him as much as he must trust them. But even this trust depends on his being able to lead an irreproachable life of integrity both in private and in public. The dishonest or indisciplined police officer is not only distrusted by his fellow citizens but even by his subordinates. Good discipline is a sign of integrity. The dishonest person cannot be disciplined.

He must cultivate a liberal outlook. His mind should be always open to receive new ideas. He must always be willing to correct himself and not try to justify his mistake, because in trying to justify one mistake he will have to commit many other mistakes.

Without an open mind, he will not be able to make any distinction between right and wrong. No problem should be approached with a prejudiced and preconceived view. Even when a judgment is formed after considering certain events, he should be willing to change it, if necessary after considering more material. Even this liberal-mindedness depends on personal integrity.

If these virtues are observed, he will develop in himself courtesy and kindness towards all. They come out of goodness of the soul. They cannot be imposed. A person, who has not observed the moral or the legal codes, will not be able to practise courtesy or kindness. To the man of integrity they come naturally.

And above everything, non-attachment is essential in the work of a policeman. It is attachment to result which drives him to take to illegal and wrongful methods; it is attachment which makes him forget what is right and what is wrong; it is attachment which presents before him the end as the most important, leaving out the means. Non-attachment will show everything in its proper light and he will then be able to take a correct view of life and people round him and adjust his relations with them in the correct way. Integrity helps on the way to non-attachment.

All these are facets of integrity. Some are matters of financial integrity, others of intellectual integrity. But without integrity the policeman fails in the primary purpose of his existence. And, want of integrity in the law-enforcement agency will lead to a serious ailment in the body politic of society and may result in complete social disintegration. From integrity everything flows. That is why Gautama Buddha and Mahatma Gandhi preached the greatness of Truth in all circumstances and in all environments. That is why our great epics and the Puranas are replete with examples of great men even sacrificing themselves for the sake of truth and honesty. It is their example which has to be followed and not the example of others who have gone the other way.

‘सत्यमेव जयते’ (It is Truth which triumphs) should be the watch-word of every policeman.

Principles and Expediency

Conflicts often come in a policeman's life in the execution of his duty. The conflict may be about his career as a police officer, that is his aspiration to rise in service and the way of doing so. The conflict may be between his desire to meet all the demands of his family and his inability to meet them except at the sacrifice of his integrity. The conflict may be in his loyalty to his superior who may be dishonest, and who may have given an illegal order. There may be a conflict between his legal duty and his sense of compassion when he finds a starving man committing theft to feed his famished children. But the most serious conflict comes when he is faced with directions which are inhuman, repugnant to every sense of morality and have not emanated from the people but have come down from authority. Whatever be the conflict, the policeman has to resolve it taking his own counsel. No assistance from outside will be of any avail to him if he is internally weak. He will succeed if he clearly understands the basis of his existence as a police officer. He must know that he is there because people want him to be there to enforce in a correct way the laws which they have framed in order to secure their own liberty and prosperity. In this enforcement of the law he has no choice; it is not for him to discriminate between one act and another; this is left to the judges and he must not arrogate to himself any judicial functions. Nor must he ever go beyond the limits that law has prescribed, out of sheer enthusiasm to do the right thing. Society does not want him to go beyond the prescribed limits. He must cultivate in himself all the human virtues. Firmness should not make way for harshness nor kindness for weakness. Pursuit of the mammon and the monster of career, sacrificing the right and without bothering about the means, must be avoided. One

must look after one's family but must not abuse one's official position to satisfy all their whims.● Even the passive attitude of letting a wrong be perpetrated without opposing it is wrong and amounts morally to abetment.

A policeman has no right superior to that of a private person. Every person is a policeman on behalf of society. A police officer may arrest without warrant if he has reasonable suspicion that a cognisable crime has been committed. A private person may also arrest without warrant if he knows for certain that such a crime has been committed. Law imposes obligations on all persons and empowers them to prevent the commission of certain offences and breaches of peace. The difference in power is not in substance but in degree. And even in the exercise of the right of private defence, the policeman is in the same category as any other private person. This is a point which every police officer must remember. He is a commoner who has been put in uniform by the people to carry out some tasks on their behalf. If this principle is always kept in view, then the policeman will be able to resolve many of the conflicts in which he finds himself and he will not take recourse to expediency at the cost of principles.

The police must be the living symbol of true democracy. So long as the means of securing law observance by the people and for the people remains strictly legal, true democracy and the liberties which it gives will not be destroyed. The ideal police force is one which affords the maximum protection at the cost of minimum of interference with the lawful liberty of the subject. It is no credit to prevent crime by wholesale arrests and detention of all suspected persons. If the clues are thoroughly worked out, probably the arrest of one or two persons, who are the real culprits, would produce the same result or even better result, than the arrest of a hundred who have been suspected on inadequate grounds. In the process of wholesale and thoughtless arrests, the police destroy all germs of democracy and constitutional liberties which it is their first duty to uphold.

The police are the servants of the community. Their official existence would be impossible if their acts run counter to the

expressed wishes of the people. They depend for their effectiveness upon public sanction. 'Without this' public sanction, without public support, which is born out of public trust, no police work is possible. The only alternative would be mass terror and persecution to which dictators and tyrants take recourse in order to subdue their people. But is that what the police is meant for? Such acts would deprave the police and dehumanise them and make them autocratic and widen the gap between the police and the public. The principle that the policeman is the servant of the community must be always in every policeman's mind in fixing any course of action and this will help in the solution of some of the conflicts which may appear before him.

In the matter of fighting crime or any disorder, the plan adopted for the prevention should never become more intolerable than the effect of the crime itself. Only those preventive measures are sound which involve no injury or hardship to the innocent. Often, in order to prevent crime or disorder, the police take to measures which are harsh and, as has been explained above, lead to the loss of liberty of many innocent people. Obviously crime against property can be eliminated if night-long curfew can be rigorously and effectively enforced throughout the country. But this will put people at large to great difficulties. They would rather suffer some loss in their property by crime than lose their liberty through curfew. It is a wrong notion that the protection of society requires such harsh measures. Repressive action thoughtlessly applied leads to the destruction of democracy and not to its strengthening and protection.

The police, as explained above, are the instruments of law and should concern themselves solely with breach of law and refrain from judging, punishing and avenging, or otherwise usurping the functions of the courts. It would be a wrong principle for the police to arrogate to themselves judicial powers which the constitution does not give them. Being the prosecutors they cannot be unbiased judges and, therefore, their acts will carry no conviction with the people who must be convinced if the policeman is to succeed. Arrogation of judicial powers also makes the police more despotic and tyrannous. Every action of the police should be open to in-

dependent judicial scrutiny. It is only then that this will carry conviction with the people, and it will keep the police themselves on the right track. This is essential because so long as the public have reason to suspect the nature of the methods by which evidence has been secured, the police will fall short of the ideal. This suspicion will be strengthened if the police become the prosecutors as well as the judges, and will be largely removed if the judging is done by an independent judiciary. But if the methods to secure evidence have not been strictly in conformity with the law, even judicial finding in favour of the police will not convince the people. The means that the policeman adopts for his work must be correct, moral and strictly legal in all circumstances.

It is a serious mistake to use the police to enforce laws which have not secured the sanction of a substantial majority of the people. Any attempt to enforce such laws brings the police into conflict with the public and also opens up avenues of dishonesty for them. If such laws have to be made and enforced, it should be left to a separate agency and not the police, so that the police may be left free to fight the more serious transgressions without being encumbered with the bad name which they would earn in enforcing unpopular laws.

The conflict between his objection to an illegal order of his superior and his sense of discipline often arises in the life of a policeman. If the order is illegal, and the carrying out of the order would lead to the commission of illegal and unethical acts, his sense of discipline should not overpower his sense of duty as an upholder of the laws. If he continues the illegal act, he has to suffer the consequences and he cannot divest himself of the responsibility by pleading that he acted under the orders of a superior officer. The law is quite clear that in police function, every policeman must remain responsible for the act that he does irrespective of whether he does it under the orders of a superior officer or on his own. Therefore, he has to use his judgment in all cases where the conflict is between his sense of discipline and his understanding of law and ethics. No superior officer can order his subordinate to do an illegal act, nor is the refusal to obey such illegal order an act of

indiscipline. On the other hand, if there is a dispute over a purely administrative matter, which has no ethical or legal bearing, and which is a question purely of judgment as to whether one or the other is right, then the disciplined policeman should submit to the order of his superior officer even though he may feel on a particular occasion that this order is not correct and its carrying out will not produce the desired result.

A conflict often arises between a policeman's legal duty and his sense of humanity. He may have to take action against a thief who has committed theft out of starvation and in order to save his children from dying of hunger. True, this would arouse his pity, but his legal duty is clear—he cannot let the thief go. His humanity can and should be satisfied by finding help for the famished children. The law does not give him the liberty to let the thief go even in such circumstances, because, if hundreds of people break the law under the mistaken right of satisfying their urgent needs, there would be no order or security left in society. It should not happen though that some starve whilst others live in luxury. But that is a social deficiency which every country is trying to correct and will, no doubt, succeed in correcting.

A policeman often faces serious conflicts in the prosecution of his career. It is a natural desire to advance in one's service and the easiest way to do so would be to carry out unquestioningly all orders whether they are legal or illegal. He sacrifices his own good sense and judgment. He chooses not to distinguish between right and wrong. This tendency comes from too much attachment to one's career and the desire to advance in service. But he often lowers himself to the utmost depths of degradation in that process. There may be fiends in human shape who may commit terrible atrocities. But the real trouble arises when even normal human beings, particularly those in service, in the pursuit of their career, bow in obeisance to such despots and show no strength to face up to them and commit serious illegalities. If compromise of principle becomes the guiding light, and suffering for upholding the truth does not attract any adherents, then this world will no longer remain an abode of human beings created in the image of God.

There are sometimes serious conflicts in the policeman's duty as a law-enforcement officer and the action which he is asked to take due to political or other considerations. Things even may go to such an extreme that the government itself may interfere in the law-enforcement duties of the police and make the police ineffective. There may also be cases where a government in order to enforce its decision, which has not been accepted by large masses of the people, force the police to take certain actions, which are not provided in the law, against those who oppose such measures. Confronted with such conflicts a policeman may often lose his head and toe the line of least resistance. But his safeguard would be in the law itself and he must enforce it evenly without being influenced by contrary pulls and pressures. He must consider himself to be answerable only to the courts for any law-enforcement work which he does. In doing this he may even face victimisation, but he should not get demoralised by such temporary difficulties. The cloud is bound to scatter and the sun will shine again as surely as day follows night. Much strength of character is needed but if all policemen stand by principles as officers of the law and not take to paths of expediency, they will be able to establish their real position in the society and the State.

Desire to meet the demands of the family beyond what his legitimate income can provide often tempts the policeman to adopt irregular methods. But as such action only whets the appetite, the wants increase and the policeman's chase for the mammon gathers increasing momentum. This conflict between the desire to make the family affluent and happy and his sense of integrity and propriety must be resolved by simple living and reducing his personal wants.

Unflinching adherence to principle can come from two main virtues which have been described earlier, that is integrity and non-attachment. The practice of these two virtues generates moral courage, which does not succumb to wrong pressures coming either from within or without, and which gives the policeman the strength to do the right thing even in the face of great dangers and opposition and at the cost of much personal sacrifice.

Service to People

That man is true
 Who taketh to his bosom the afflicted:
 In such a man
 Dwelleth, augustly present,
 God himself;
 The heart of such a man is filled abrim
 With pity, gentleness and love;
 He taketh the forsaken for his own.

—Quoted from Tukaram by

Dr. Radhakrishnan in 'The Bhagwat Gita'.

The Gita 'says that even the 'liberated one' is सर्वभूतहिते रताः—who rejoices in the welfare of all creatures.

Dr. Radhakrishnan says in this context, "Even those who realise their oneness with the Universal Self, so long as they wear a body, work for the welfare of the world". He illustrates this point by quoting the following from the Bhagwat—"Oh, who would tell me of the sacred way by which I might enter into all the suffering hearts and take all their suffering on myself for now and for ever".

A man born in this world can make his way up towards his final liberation only by service to all in whom God resides. This is the highest form of Yoga that can be practised. Seeking only personal liberation is being selfish. A great saint is not satisfied by liberating himself alone. He strives to come back to the earth again and again so that like the good shepherd he can lead his brother human beings towards the ultimate goal of reaching God.

The entire conception of 'Avatar' (re-incarnation) is for the

purpose of saving the world from misery and showing the path to happiness. Whether the 'Avatar' is in the form of Sri Krishna in Hinduism or Gautama Buddha in Buddhism or Jesus Christ in Christianity, the descent from heaven is not an accident. The Divine comes down to the earthly plane to raise it to a higher status. By teaching and example the 'Avatar' shows how a human being can raise himself to a higher grade of life. Dr. Radhakrishnan in 'The Bhagwat Gita' explains the functions of the 'Avatar' as follows:—"The avatar fulfils a number of functions in the cosmic process. The conception makes out that there is no opposition between spiritual life and life in the world. If the world is imperfect and is ruled by the flesh and the devil, it is our duty to redeem it for the spirit. The avatar points out the way by which men can rise from their animal to a spiritual mode of existence by providing us with an example of spiritual life. The Divine nature is not seen in the incarnation in its naked splendour but is mediated by the instrumentality of manhood. The Divine greatness is conveyed to us in and through these great individuals. Their lives dramatize for us the essential constituents of human life ascending to the fulfilment of its destiny. The Bhagwat says,—'The Omnipresent Lord appears in the world not only for destroying the demoniac forces but also for teaching mortals. How else could Lord who is blissful in Himself experience anxieties about Sita etc.' He knows hunger and thirst, sorrow and suffering, solitude and forsakenness. He overcomes them all and asks us to take courage from His example".

So the 'Avatar' suffers all the pains, sorrows and tribulations to teach human beings how to overcome them and reach Godhood. The Bhagwat tells us that God sent back to earth even those aspirants for Godhood who had fully qualified for it and asked them to serve their terms in human life doing good to others to remove misery and bring light to the needy and the afflicted. Reaching Godhood by only self-purification without doing service to society is an act of escapism which the Bhagwat disapproves of. One must do service to humanity first, get 'Chittasuddhi' (cleansing of the heart) in that process and then rise to Godhood. 'Dharma',

according to Bhagwat, is benevolence to and compassion for all creatures. This benevolence or compassion is expressed in the concrete form by service—service to those who need any form of assistance in this world—material, moral or spiritual. Sri Krishna told his most favourite disciple Udhava—“Worship me through hospitality and service”.

In Buddhism, the conception of Bodhisattwa gives the same idea. Gautama Buddha said that from time to time Bodhisattwas came to the world to guide the erring mortals. Jesus Christ showed in his own life that service to the poor and the needy was the highest form of religion.

The great patriot saint of modern India, Swami Vivekananda, declared: “Even if I have to undergo a thousand births to relieve the miseries of the world, even to remove the least pain from anyone, I shall cheerfully do it”. He said on another occasion: “May I be born again and again and suffer thousand miseries so that I may worship the only God that exists, the only God that I believe in, the sum total of all souls”. Though he was a Sanyasin, yet his creation, the Ramakrishna Mission, stands as a monument to his thought of service to humanity. The privilege of doing this service is not restricted to the Sanyasins who have taken the order of Ramakrishna, but is open to all who have faith in right action and right endeavour to do their part because Swamiji taught that service to the afflicted was an inseparable part of their religion.

Urge for service comes from love and one must develop love for humanity to be able to do service, because it is love which drives and inspires a person to serve those who are objects of his love. As the mother or the father looks more tenderly after the weakest or the youngest of the children, similarly one should look after the poor and the afflicted, because it is they who are in need of service and not so much the rich or the strong. Hence service to Daridra-narayana is one of the oldest forms of Karma Yoga which has been preached in India and for which Mahatma Gandhi devoted his entire life. His fight for the uplift of the Harijans and the abolition of untouchability was based on the idea of service to the poorest and the weakest sections of the population. Here is what Mahatma

Gandhi said—"Khadi service, village service and Harijan service are all one in reality, though three in name. They are purely humanitarian services with no other aim than that of serving Daridranarayana (the God in poor). Harijans are the most down-trodden amongst the millions of Daridranarayanas. Their service necessarily includes service of all. A cup of water served to a Harijan in the name of God is a cup served to all the neglected ones in humanity". Gandhiji further said—"Of all the myriads of Gods, Daridranarayana is the most sacred in as much as it represents the untold millions of poor people as distinguished from the very few rich". Every work of Mahatma Gandhi, every movement initiated by him was directed to one single aim, i.e. service of the Daridranarayana. When once asked what his charges against the British Government were, he said in a few words that the British Government oppressed the poor.

It is through unselfish service to the poor and afflicted, to the humanity at large, that one develops the largeness of heart, the spirit of non-attachment, the shedding of egos like intolerance, anger and lust and vices which stand in the way of man's personal development. The fabric of society is woven out of the threads of service by many people of many kinds, which includes social service or just plain day-to-day service of doing a good job and by being a good citizen. 'Be a good Samaritan' is what Jesus Christ taught his disciples. Desire to do service lies through kindness, understanding, courage, faith and compassion, and greatness lies in how one can develop and utilise these qualities for service to the poor and the needy.

Police service is an art dedicated to the service of the people. This service is not confined to checking human delinquencies only, but the motto 'Protect the People' includes protecting them against all distresses and calamities. Therefore, service to the public should be considered to be a very important part of the duty of every policeman both in his public and in his private life.

In his public life the policeman will daily come across instances of people suffering and having no help, and as a public servant he has the means to mobilise assistance from others for those who need

succour. The forms in which this public service can be done have no limits. If there is a sick man needing medical assistance, the policeman should arrange to send him to the hospital; if there is a starving man who needs food, the policeman can always arrange food for him from those who can afford to give; if a child has gone astray, the policeman by his advice and guidance can show him the way back to good behaviour. He has a special responsibility towards women and juveniles and he should assist them in every way possible.

Public service not only consists of service to individuals but service to society as a whole also. Public health is something in which the policeman can always assist not only by keeping the surroundings of his own station clean, but he can teach others to do so and even lend a hand. He can keep strict watch on sources of drinking water supply to prevent their pollution. In epidemics the policeman can assist in the inoculation or vaccination campaigns and the observance of the necessary sanitary requirements. It is to his self-interest to do so, because in any epidemic the inmates of his station will be as much exposed to infection or contagion as any one else in the village. In fires, the policeman should mobilise the villagers to fight the flames. In floods, he should be the first to rush to repair the breach unmindful of any personal danger. In earthquakes, he should lead rescue parties to deliver the trapped from the debris. In fact, there is no branch of public work in which he cannot lend a helping hand.

The welfare State of to-day does look after public welfare and tries to stamp out disparity of incomes and poverty. Large-scale educational, medical and public health facilities remove many of the shortcomings and difficulties from which the past generations have suffered. Yet, even in the developed socialist countries, where an egalitarian society has been raised and disparities have been removed to a great extent, afflictions still remain, and the policeman can do a lot to remove them.

It is a very narrow-minded view to think that the police service is only meant to prevent crime and not to take part in social welfare work, which should be done by other agencies. Taken to its

logical conclusion, it means that if the neighbouring area is in a huge conflagration, the policeman may sit tight in his station leaving either the fire brigade or the people to do the fire-fighting. But if the whole town is burnt to ashes, what law and order work will he do? Will he maintain order over the ashes of destruction? He will be like Nero who fiddled whilst Rome burnt. If there is flood and he leaves it to the people to plug the breach or rescue the drowning, the whole village including his police station may be washed away. Where will he then exercise his police powers?

If the policeman neglects to help the needy and the poor, he falls miserably from the ideal which a man strives for in any form of collective living. Therefore, every policeman, whose aim should be to become the perfect man, must devote himself wholeheartedly to the service of the people. He should not require any rules and directions from the superiors for this work. The urge for this must come from within his own heart. It is by developing in his heart kindness, understanding and compassion towards all, it is through love and charity towards all human beings, and it is by worshipping God in Daridranarayana that the policeman will develop into the ideal man and will be able to sing with Tulsi Dass: •

“Grant me, O Master, by thy grace
To follow all the good and pure,
To be content with simple things;
To use my fellows not as means but ends,
To serve them stalwartly, in thought, word, deed;
Never to utter word of hatred or of shame;
To speak no ill of others;
To have a mind at peace,
Set free from care, and led astray from thee
Neither by happiness nor woe;
Set thou my feet upon this path,
And keep me steadfast in it,
Thus only shall I please thee, serve thee right.”

(Quoted from Dr. Radhakrishnan's 'The Bhagwat Gita').

Discipline and Leadership

Man emerged out of the animal by disciplining himself, by disciplining his mind, his senses and his body. He developed society by disciplining himself as a member of the collective group. Personal discipline developed in the highest forms of philosophy and religion, and social discipline developed into constitution and laws. Throughout his life man has to subject himself to these disciplines, either voluntarily or due to compulsion. If he breaks these disciplines and if his example is followed by others, soon all the restraints, which keep society together, will break and man will start degenerating rapidly.

Police is an emblem of human discipline. It is the policeman in man which helps him to keep to the right path, and it is the policeman which helps him to live a corporate life in society. Being the emblem of all discipline it is but natural that the policeman himself must be the most disciplined person in human society.

Discipline comes from faith in one's calling and in one's duty. The policeman must realise what he stands for, and once he realises the high principles on which his existence is based, he will never waver in his work. He will subject himself to enormous difficulties cheerfully and voluntarily to carry out his assigned task.

He must be steadfast in his religion. Faith in his religion will give him strength of mind; faith in religion will give him broadness of character to respect other religions and to treat all as equals in the eyes of God; faith in his own religion will also help him not to discriminate between one set of persons and another. Proper discipline can be based only on steadfastness in religion.

Discipline should not be mechanical; it comes from the heart; it comes from the realisation that the task laid down before one is

sacred and must not be neglected in any way. In the performance of this task, the policeman must obey the directions and orders of his superiors, who are expected to know better than him. Yet his discipline should not lead him to do acts which he knows are wrong or unethical.

He must obey the call of duty. He must obey the call of conscience, the call of humanity. If his superiors are also imbued with this sense of duty, conscience and humanity, obedience to superiors' orders will come spontaneously. Then obedience will not be mechanical or due to fear.

He must be correctly motivated. His motivation should be to protect the people, to do good to them. When he identifies himself with this aim of service, discipline will come to him automatically. Difficulties and troubles, which stand in his way, will not deter him.

Police service is a co-operative service and requires the willing effort of many in the same direction. Such co-operative effort requires self-discipline on the part of the policeman. Without this discipline everyone will pull his own way and there will be no progress.

Discipline is 'training or experience that corrects, moulds, strengthens or perfects the mental faculties or moral character' (Webster). It is given to man to develop his mental faculties and strengthen his moral character. Discipline in a policeman will strengthen and perfect his moral character.

Discipline in corporate life requires behaviour according to the rules of the organisation, and the prompt and willing obedience to the orders of superiors and the systematic and purposeful attention to the performance of assigned tasks. All this comes from proper understanding of one's duties and work, training to perform those tasks properly, exercise of proper control over oneself and restraining oneself from going astray.

Discipline comes from training. How well a person has been trained in the technicalities of his profession determines to a great extent how disciplined he is. A person who does not discipline himself to training can hardly exercise self-control in the daily fights of life or service.

A disciplined policeman, rooted in his religion and with a clear idea about the aim of his service, having good knowledge and the technical ability to perform the duties assigned to him, and who has integrity, non-attachment, courage and character, will clearly become a leader amongst men—a leadership which is given to him by the very nature of his duties.

Leadership comes from moral ascendancy; this is the influence which one person exercises over others by reasons of the exemplary nature of his character. This moral ascendancy is gained by the practice of self-control, cultivating ability to stand hardships of work and vicissitudes of fortune, a sincerity of purpose and exhibition of moral courage.

True leadership is personal; it is the psychological effect that a well-integrated personality will have upon those who come in contact with him.

Apart from the need of the policeman to secure leadership amongst the people by the strength of his own character and discipline, it is necessary for the service itself to have true leaders. Without strong, sympathetic and disciplined leadership at the top, the service will wilt and will not be able to face up to the numerous challenges which confront it. The leader must have vision, faith and determination and must be able to protect the subordinates and fight for the ideals. This may require much self-sacrifice and willingness to suffer for his convictions. He must establish his leadership by his devotion to work and his superior knowledge and ability and at the same time by his readiness to undergo all the sufferings of those whom he leads.

Moral ascendancy is absolutely necessary for the superior police officer. A police officer cannot maintain leadership over his men if at any time he himself is placed in a position of moral embarrassment. Questionable character of such a leader in police service will reflect upon all members of the group. The final measure of moral ascendancy is found in the true character of the individual by the example he sets in his own life.

The leader must have personal dignity, which comes from his appreciation of the honour of his position. He must be physically

courageous, because people will follow the brave and will suffer hundreds of difficulties under his leadership. Even more important than physical courage is his need to possess moral courage to assume responsibilities of office, to stand up bravely to his conviction without shifting blame to evade personal criticism. Moral courage will come from integrity and faith in the ideals of one's work.

Initiative and decision are the necessary traits of men who act correctly and at the proper time and this marks out a leader from others. The ability to act decisively and correctly depends on thorough preparedness and on the interest which he takes in the work at hand. Knowledge, mental alertness and judgment all help in the development of this essential trait.

Fairness and honesty are qualities which must be inseparable from leadership. Discrimination, nepotism, prejudice, etc., will lower the leader in the estimation of his followers. Similarly, faithlessness, ingratitude, dishonesty and want of integrity will mark him out as a person who cannot be trusted. If there is no trust, there can be no leader and follower.

Self-sacrifice is fundamental to true leadership. Unless the leader is willing to sacrifice his own comforts and privileges, and face dangers, he cannot set an example to be followed by others.

The leader must be dependable, and his dependability rests largely on how well he can discharge the responsibilities of his service.

The leader must have self-confidence, which arises from his ability, training and knowledge, and also willingness to pass on the knowledge to others.

A true leader must be courteous and well-mannered. These are vital traits of leadership. He must be kind. Harshness to subordinates or rough behaviour to others lowers his personality.

Greatness in leadership is clearly associated with greatness of purpose. The great leader is one who, by enriching his own personality and shedding lustre all-round by means of his own fair example, has most enriched the personality of his followers. His power should not be derived from the exercise of domination. His power should come from the profound trust amongst his followers that through him they can come to a kind of self-realisation, which

would otherwise have been unlikely or impossible.

The leader can be trained not only to direct better but also to the true manifestation of leadership. A leader must have a generous endowment of physical and nervous energy; he must have a compelling urge towards some specific goal; he must have mastery of the technical ways and means of achieving the aim; he must be able to sustain confidence, loyalty and affection of those who become his followers.

And, finally, the leader must be a disciplined person himself. He must observe all the disciplines which he wants to enforce on his subordinates; he must observe all the rules and regulations of the society which he wants to enforce in the society; he must observe all the moral and physical restraints which have been found to be essential for securing the welfare of the human being in society; he must have all the qualities which he wants to cultivate amongst his subordinates and amongst the people at large with the only difference that he should have them in much larger quantities.

The true leader is he who by his discipline, character and example can inspire others to follow him. It is necessary for the policeman to cultivate this leadership in himself by following the disciplines in his personal life within his family, in his life as a member of the society, and in his life as a member of the service. Steadfast in his religion, he should follow the paths of integrity and non-attachment and develop his character, courage and spirit of devotion and improve his technical ability to perform accurately all the tasks which come to him in course of his public service. It is by the observance of all these disciplines that he will be able to secure his leadership in the force and also leadership in the society. He must set the example which others will follow.

Sri Krishna said:—

यद्यदाचरति श्रेष्ठस्तत्तदेवेतरो जनः ।

स यत्प्रमाणं कुरुते लोकस्तदनुवर्तते ॥

(Bhagwat Gita—Ch. III, 21)

“Whatsoever the superior person does, that is followed by others. What he demonstrates by action, that people follow”.

Police Ethics

To justify its existence in society, the police service must be founded on very high principles of morality and human conscience. It is human conscience developed over the ages which acts as the policeman in every man and directs his sense of morality towards right action. It is this policeman in man, zealously protecting all his good virtues and repressing evil desires, which ultimately finds expression in society in the concrete form of the police service. It is an institution which must be devoted to the service of the people at all times and, therefore, demands from its members the highest ethical standards.

The society demands of its servants, particularly of the police, more exacting and exemplary conduct than it expects of private citizens. A public official has no private life and his conduct, whether off or on duty, is subjected to constant scrutiny and critical analysis of the public itself. Of all public servants, the policeman, by reason of his specific duties, must observe a more exacting code than any other public servant. Delinquencies in conduct that pass unchallenged when committed by a member of any other service and are accepted as commonplace when judging normal human conduct, are deemed reprehensible when committed by a policeman. Hence it is essential for a policeman to follow a very high code of ethics in his work.

Integrity is essential in a policeman's life.

Honesty must always be strictly observed. There must be no compromise with dishonesty in any way. It is but a short way from the summit to the gorge below and the slope is sharp; and once the peak is left, descent to the bottom and to one's moral

destruction comes rapidly and even unconsciously.

The policeman is in a position of constant temptation in his work. He can use his authority to personal advantage. Dishonest people are willing to oblige him either to escape the law or to have legal processes falsely started against others. They will be only too glad to meet his requirements and those of his family. Needs of the policeman's family may be pressing and he may be tempted to accept the offers when no immediate return is to be given. But the practice is dangerous and is almost certain to lead to a fall.

Corruption by the policeman often begins with obligations, which are innocently acquired, and then the involvement comes upon him in a big way. Collection of funds for police benefits, use of free passes, all ultimately lead to corruption by incurring obligations. Outside business or part-time occupations by the policeman may also incur obligation and limit his effectiveness in the normal discharge of his duties. Obtaining of material tokens in appreciation of good work done must be avoided because soon this forms a habit.

From honesty flow most of the other qualities. Honesty itself must be considered to be the highest objective, to attain which no effort or trouble and no amount of self-sacrifice should be spared. It must not be compromised for some other objective; the ultimate loss by such compromise will most certainly outweigh any temporary gain that may be recorded. The greatest satisfaction in a policeman's life should come from resistance to temptation when even a slight deviation from the honest path may provide a way to easy success.

Honesty must be the foundation on which the entire philosophy of police work should be based; and, if the policeman is firmly secured to this anchor, he could essay out on his arduous task with confidence and knowledge that he will be able to overcome all difficulties that may come in his way.

Non-attachment to the result is a most important principle for a policeman to follow.

It is attachment to the result that makes a man insensitive to

right or wrong; it is attachment which makes him lose proper perspective in any situation and induces him to take reprehensible measures. Success only whets his appetite and he craves for more. The end becomes the only objective in life and the means to secure it becomes unimportant. Pursuit of career and worshipping of the mammon lead to some of the worst manifestations in human life.

It is non-attachment which gives a policeman a proper sense of balance in his work. He can, then, judge right against wrong, good against bad, principle against expediency, end against means, and, unmindful of success or failure, he will follow only the correct path open to him which is often tortuous and difficult, shunning all temptations to take shortcuts to success.

Non-attachment does not mean that a policeman should not strive for the result. He should, but he must follow only the correct, lawful and ethical means. And if by his strict adherence to honest means he meets failure, he should cheerfully face it. Unless he is really non-attached, when a conflict comes in crucial times, he will succumb to pressure or temptation and forsake principle for expediency.

Like dishonesty, the tendency to take the path of expediency also escalates and very soon the policeman starts forgetting all principles and goes after the results adopting any means that he finds helpful.

Integrity contributes to non-attachment and non-attachment to integrity. A really honest man will pursue the correct path and feel happy even after failure at the very fact that he has not taken to unethical means and so will be unconcerned about the result. If he is non-attached, the urge to do the wrong thing in pursuit of success disappears and so the need to take to dishonest means diminishes.

Gentlemanliness is essential in a policeman.

The policeman must behave like a gentleman in all circumstances and must not show flashes of temper or indulge in rude language even when opposed or insulted. Not only should he be a gentle-

man in public but also in his private life. It is only then that he will be able to make himself liked and trusted by the people.

Many people come to the policeman for assistance and protection. He must see to the needs of everybody without making any discrimination because of social status or education. Even if he feels that the matter is unimportant, he must attend to it because the person who comes for assistance goes back disappointed if he is not attended to. Utmost courtesy is required in the handling of such persons and this can be ensured if the policeman has developed gentlemanliness of character by assiduously cultivating it.

There is no justification for being harsh even with criminals. Harsh behaviour lowers the character of the policeman without changing that of the criminal. His continued dealings with criminals, no doubt, generate a feeling of hatred and hostility towards them; but this must not be allowed to affect his behaviour in any way.

In his work he has to be friendly to all, and yet he should not allow anybody to take any undue advantage of him. He should maintain a dignified attitude, but he should still be accessible to everyone who wants his assistance. He must always be courteous, but this should not make him weak in his work.

Gentlemanliness comes naturally to him who is honest and non-attached.

A policeman must be reliable.

The public want to see the policeman as one who can be fully trusted with their secrets, who will come to their assistance promptly and who will give them close attention and act unselfishly. Then only can the policeman earn a reputation for reliability.

The public give information to the policeman of many secret things which they would not share with others. They expect the policeman to keep their secrets and take necessary action without exposing them. It is only when they find that they have not been compromised that they will come forward with other secret information. Ability to maintain secrets will mark the policeman out as a reliable person in the eyes of the public.

People often come to the police for assistance in their difficulties.

Naturally they expect the police to give them prompt attention. If the policeman gives the impression that he is supercilious in his work instead of being attentive, the people get disappointed. They will consider the policeman reliable only if they get from him his undivided attention in every trouble. For this purpose the policeman must so train himself that even the most routine type of work is not neglected by him. It is only when he is careful about every detail that he will be able to bring concentrated attention to the work in hand.

The policeman must be punctual in every sphere of his work. He must be present at the right place at the right moment. Timely action will often prevent serious catastrophes. If he is not in time, all his skill and experience will be of little avail. The public will consider him reliable if he arrives promptly on the scene.

The policeman must be accurate and correct in his work. If he jumps to conclusions, if he omits to note the details which may later turn out to be important, his judgment will be adversely affected. The public will judge the policeman's reliability by the soundness of his conclusions.

The public must feel confident that the policeman will come to their assistance at all times, and particularly in times of danger and distress. If he is not there organising people to fight the flames when the village is on fire, if he is absent from the repair of the embankment which holds back the flood water, if he runs away when a pestilence descends on the village, he has no place amongst the public. He should not only share their misfortunes but should be in the forefront.

Unselfishness is another quality besides others which enhances reliability. It is the unselfish policeman who will attract people to himself. They will realise that whatever he is doing is for their good and not for his personal benefit. They will consider the policeman's work to be theirs also, and thus a cooperative effort will be built up between the police and the public.

It is to the reliable policeman that the public will come not only for seeking remedies of their own difficulties and grievances but also helping him in his difficult task. Absolute reliability is

essential for building up public trust, which is the foundation of all police work.

Law observance is extremely important in a policeman's work.

The policeman is a law-enforcing agent. It is his moral and legal responsibility to protect life and property, but he must do it through the proper processes of law. Law-enforcement not only requires the booking of the guilty but the upholding of the rights and liberties of the honest. No doubt policemen make enormous sacrifices in the discharge of their duties regarding the protection of life and property, but they are not so careful in upholding civil liberty. Imprisonment on inadequate grounds, illegal searches, and the denial of due processes of law must not happen. Sometimes illegality is committed for the good of society. But every illegal act done, even if it is motivated by good sense, lowers the policeman as a human being by hardening and coarsening his character. He also appears to the public to be untrustworthy and he evokes fear in them in place of love and respect. Outwardly people may congratulate him on a result achieved by illegal means, but they will shun him all the same.

Whether he fails or succeeds in any particular work, strict adherence to law will bring him credit, recognition and respect from the people. On the other hand, recourse to illicit or irregular methods will bring him down in public estimation.

The policeman must have nobility of character.

Character is most important in a policeman to secure for him moral ascendancy amongst the people. He comes in daily contact with the people in the discharge of his duties. These contacts must be good contacts, fruitful contacts and contacts from which each party profits. If the contacts are good, people will voluntarily subject themselves to his command. But the contacts can be good only if he can create a favourable impression on the people, and this he can do only if he is marked out as a man of good moral character. Hence without building his own character he cannot

exercise any moral influence on the people, who then will not accept his leadership.

Many qualities go to build the moral character in a policeman. These are honesty, reliability, dignity and courage. He must have self-confidence. He should be willing to sacrifice his own interests for the sake of others. He must be imbued with a sense of responsibility of his office. He must be kind and considerate. He should be fair-minded. He must be able to control his tempers and passions, likes and dislikes. He must be courteous. He must be patient in the time of distress and calm in the face of danger. It is only then that he can gain moral ascendancy over people. It is from the example that he sets in the daily routine of his work and during his day to day contacts with the people that he will be judged, and his leadership will depend on how well he passes this test.

The policeman must be a good man.

The policeman must represent in himself all that is considered to be good and necessary in society. He must be well trained for his work. He must be dedicated to the cause of his service. He must be devoted to his duty. He must be prepared to do the utmost self-sacrifice even to the extent of laying down his life in the execution of his work. He must be law-abiding. He must uphold the rights of all citizens and maintain the dignity of man. He must have good character. His integrity must be unquestionable. He must be reliable and dependable. He must have courage, both physical and moral. He should have the physical strength to bear the strain of long hours of work in difficult places and climates. He must be always cheerful, firm, helpful and courteous. He must shun everything that is considered to be bad and dubious in society and cultivate those qualities that society recognises as good.

Therefore, he must be a good man in every respect, and without being a good man he cannot be a good policeman.

Principles of Police Conduct

The police must bear faithful allegiance to the Constitution of India and respect and uphold the rights of the citizens as guaranteed by it.

The police is a constitutional force. Like all other services, the police must be faithful to the Constitution of the country. The Constitution represents the will of the people to live together in a civilised society by giving themselves a government based on certain principles and allowing the government to develop services to carry out its functions in accordance with those principles. Therefore, though directly appointed by the government, in reality the police is the creation of the people themselves. Moreover, in the abstract the police function represents the function of every person in society to conduct himself in a proper manner both as an individual and as a member in a group; and it is only those conventions which man has framed for himself and which have later on developed into laws that the police are meant to enforce on behalf of the society. Therefore, more than any other service, it is necessary for the police to respect the Constitution and bear faithful allegiance to it.

The police must realise that the people framed the Constitution for giving themselves certain rights and privileges and for restricting such actions by others which would affect these rights. Therefore, the most important aspect of police work is to see that these constitutional rights are upheld. The police must realise that when they are called upon to prevent crime and disorder, they do it in order to uphold the fundamental rights of the community in general and in particular every member thereof whose rights are

affected by such crime and disorder. Law provides the ways in which the constitutional rights of the transgressor can be restricted. It is the duty of the police to see that this provision of law is strictly observed and he must be extremely careful to avoid any action by which he is likely to deprive an innocent person of his legitimate rights. If this has happened, then the police have failed in the most important of their tasks. It is the duty of the police not only to respect the rights guaranteed by the Constitution but also to zealously uphold these rights. They must not deprive the people of any of these rights by any unthinking or hasty action on their part.

The police are essentially a law-enforcing agency. They should not question the propriety or necessity of any duly enacted law. They should enforce the law firmly and impartially, without fear or favour, malice or vindictiveness.

Police are meant to enforce law. Their functions emanate from the laws which people in their collective wisdom in parliaments or legislative assemblies frame. Enforcement of law has both liberating and punitive effects—liberating effect in the sense that it upholds the rights guaranteed by the Constitution and the laws and punitive effect in the sense that it restricts certain rights of the transgressors. The entire police work is guided by the laws which people have given themselves for civilised living in society. Therefore, the police must recognise the essential law-enforcing character of their service.

It is not for the police to judge whether a particular law is necessary or harsh or meets the demands of the situation. Laws are enacted in a democracy after much thinking and after collecting a lot of data and sampling public opinion, and the collective opinion of the entire people in a democracy must prevail and must be considered to be better than the individual opinion of any particular officer. The policeman may have different views of his own, but he must subordinate these views to the collective wisdom of the people.

The police must not show any weakness in the enforcement

of the law. The people, the country, the legislatures want the police to enforce the laws firmly without any discrimination. Fear of possible adverse consequences descending on himself or the service in general should not in any way deter a policeman from carrying out duties enjoined by law.

The policeman must enforce the law impartially. No latitude has been given to him to show favour to anyone for any consideration whatsoever. He must not be afraid of taking legal action because the person against whom the action is to be taken is strong and may cause him harm. Rich or poor, powerful or weak, all must be treated by him as equals in the eyes of law.

In this firm enforcement of law, he must avoid malice or vindictiveness. Laws are meant for preventing damage. Punishments are awarded as correctives. Any feeling of malice or vindictiveness will cloud his judgment and make him take false steps. Malice and vindictiveness must find no place in the code of a policeman. There should be no ill-will, no exhibition of bad spirit or a spirit of revenge in the enforcement of law. This work must be done absolutely fairly in all circumstances.

The police should recognise and respect the limitations of their powers and functions. They should not usurp or even seem to usurp the functions of the judiciary and sit in judgment on cases. Nor should they avenge individuals and punish the guilty.

The police are not the judiciary. They have no judicial powers, nor are they expected to punish any offenders. The police must never punish and they should never be given powers to punish even by inflicting small fines for acknowledged minor offences.

The responsibility for judging and punishing belongs to the judiciary alone, and the police must not assume guilt in any person even in the preparation of evidence. They must not do anything which gives an impression that they are performing the functions of the judiciary. It is not for them to pronounce a judgment. They have only to place the facts as they are before the judiciary.

It is not for the police to take upon themselves the duty of

avenging real or imaginary wrongs done to themselves, to other individuals or even to the State and inflict punishments on persons whom they consider to be guilty. Whatever may be the wrongs which an individual may be accused of having perpetrated, it is not for the police to take him to task for his alleged crimes; their work is confined to placing the accused and the facts before a court of law.

- Many illegalities occur because the police assume guilt in certain individuals during investigation and arrest them. They thereby not only deprive these individuals of their fundamental rights, but such assumption makes the police follow other irregular methods to bring them to book. It is essential that a strict code should be maintained so that no guilt is assumed, no illegality is committed on the plea of service to society, and no powers are usurped by the police.

People are not always aware of their rights and hence many violations of law committed by the police go unchallenged. But it is necessary for the police to ensure that the law-enforcing agency does not become a source for breaking laws.

In securing the observance of law or in maintaining order, the police should use the methods of persuasion, advice and warning. Should these fail, and the application of force become inevitable, only the absolute minimum required in the circumstances should be used.

If the police have been able to secure their leadership amongst the people by cultivating all the qualities of character that make for leadership, they should be able to secure the observance of law or to maintain order in most circumstances by persuasion and advice. When persuasion and advice come from a person in authority who, in addition, is looked upon as a friend and guide by the people, they have an immediate psychological impact on the minds of the people who would rarely go against such advice. It is a paternalistic attitude which has to be cultivated and which should give the policeman the same authority in the public as the elder in a family gets over those younger to him in age.

Advice and persuasion failing, the next step is warning. Even this should be couched in good language so that it is well received. Issuing warning in harsh, insulting or vindictive tone may produce the opposite result. Warning should in all cases follow persuasion and advice and must not be given abruptly. If it is done without proper psychological preparation of the people, then there will be a much greater tendency amongst the people to defy the warning.

Use of force should be resorted to only when all other methods have failed. Every policeman must know that for every detail of physical force, which he uses on any occasion, he must have reason and justification which will satisfy his superiors and which is permitted under the law. Even a baton or a stick is a barrier between the public and the police in the cultivation of proper mutual relations. The use of the 'lathi' snaps whatever relationship has been cultivated. Use of more force produces even more damaging result.

Hence when the use of force is unavoidable and further show of patience would be misunderstood as weakness and would let loose orgies of violence or disorder, only then the minimum force required in a particular circumstance should be used. Use of more force than is absolutely essential is not warranted under the law and brings the police in very serious disfavour with the public.

The primary duty of the police is to prevent crime and disorder, and the police must recognise that the test of their efficiency is the absence of both and not the visible evidence of police action in dealing with them.

'Prevention is better than cure' is a proverb which is applicable not only in law-enforcement but in all aspects of human life and conduct. It is better to prevent a disease than cure the diseased. It is better to prevent a fire than put it out after some damage has been done. It is better to take precautionary measures in the conduct of any private or public work than to repair damages later. In the same way, it is better to prevent crime than to allow crime

to occur and then get the criminal convicted. Once a crime is committed, the victim is afflicted, may be by bodily pain or due to the loss of his property or reputation. The criminal develops a guilty conscience and to that extent dehumanises himself. Conviction though applied as a corrective may have further debilitating influence on him, because in the company of other criminals in jail he may develop more criminal tendencies. Therefore, by allowing a crime to be committed, many other evils are set in motion which take their full toll of the human society. Hence it is always best to prevent crime, and prevention of crime should be the primary duty of any police force. The very motto of the police, 'Protect the People', enjoins that crime must be prevented.

The same is the case with disorder. Disorders, once they break out, are difficult to control, and it is difficult to foresee what ultimate damage will be caused, and in public disorders a very large number of entirely innocent people suffer. Therefore, the test of all police efficiency must be in being able to prevent disorders from taking place by vigilance and by taking preventive measures well in advance. It is not a sign of police efficiency that a disorder has been quelled; it should be a sign of their inefficiency that any disorder at all took place.

Prevention of crime and disorder is generally achieved by taking measures which are not always visible to the people. On the other hand, the curative measures of arrest and prosecution make the police presence obtrusive. Obtrusive police presence indicates the use of police power when the preventive measures have failed.

Too much show of uniform, high-handed actions to exhibit police powers do not in any way increase police efficiency. Their efficiency will depend on whether they can smoothly regulate the current of life in society by preventing transgressions and disorders.

The police must recognise that they are members of the public, with the only difference that in the interest of the community

and on its behalf they are employed to give full-time attention to duties which are normally incumbent on every citizen to perform.

The Police are members of the public whom the latter have clothed in uniform to carry out certain functions for themselves. The only difference is that the police give wholetime service to their duties as citizens and are naturally therefore paid for it. Extra powers which the people have given to the police are only marginal. In substance the police have only those powers which the people themselves can exercise in times of necessity.

It is necessary for both the public and the police to recognise that they form a single corporation for securing law observance for the advantage of the people and for the successful maintenance of the life, well-being, internal peace and security, strength and prosperity of the community as a whole.

Non-recognition of this essential identity between the police and the public is responsible for much of the estrangement in public relations that occurs in all countries. The realisation that police and the public are one is the entire basis of police-public relations. The police must not in any circumstance think themselves apart from the public. Neither the public should consider the police to be an infliction by the bureaucracy.

The police should realise that the efficient performance of their duties will be dependent on the extent of ready co-operation they receive from the public. This, in turn, will depend on their ability to secure public approval of their conduct and actions and to earn and retain public respect and confidence. The extent to which they succeed in obtaining public co-operation will diminish proportionately the necessity of the use of physical force or compulsion in the discharge of their functions.

As the public and the police form a joint corporation for securing the welfare of the community—and in this the police play the leading and active and the public the complementary roles—,

unless the police can get this ready co-operation, it will be impossible for them to perform their duties efficiently. For every piece of work, the police require assistance from the public and without public co-operation the police cannot function.

Recognising the importance of public co-operation, the police must build up public trust, which would be the foundation of public-police relations. This public trust will come only when by their conduct, by their absolute adherence to law, by their sense of justice and fair play and integrity and kindness the police can gain the respect and confidence of the public. This trust is an end-product of hard, faithful and honest work and does not come by propaganda.

It is obvious that if the public are willing to co-operate, the police will be able to function in the normal way. If they shape themselves as the paternalistic leaders in society, they will be able to carry out their functions without any use of force or compulsion. The less the public trust and public co-operation the police can secure, the more the police will have to take recourse to methods of force and compulsion; and the more force and compulsion are used, the more the distrust and spirit of non-co-operation are generated. A position, then, is reached when the police functions only by sheer repressive measures. This is a complete negation of all police virtues.

Therefore, the police by their character and conduct must generate public trust, which will ensure public co-operation in the discharge of their functions.

The police should be sympathetic and considerate to all people and should be constantly mindful of their welfare. They should always be ready to offer individual service and friendship and render necessary assistance to all without regard to their wealth and social standing.

Goodness requires unstinted service to the afflicted. Therefore, the police must come to the service of the people at all times even though it may be outside the law-enforcing function. If there

are floods, the police must be in the forefront to evacuate the people. If there is fire, the police must organise efforts to put out the flames. If there is epidemic, the police must implement measures to prevent its spread. In any form of calamity or misfortune, which may befall the society or an individual, the police must step out to render service.

The police should give assistance not only to society as a whole but even to individuals. If a man is sick and has no means, it is the duty of the police to take him to the hospital and see that he gets treatment. If a man is starving, the police can use their influence to see that he is fed.

The police must realise that the poor and the weak require their assistance more than the rich who can to a great extent look after themselves. The hut of the poor should be as important for them as the palace of the rich. They must be ready to serve all without any discrimination.

Such sense of service comes from kindness of heart and recognition of the responsibility of a policeman's position that he must be of service to the community at all times. Display of such kindness and rendering of such service will endear the policeman amongst the public and make his work of law-enforcement easier by securing public co-operation.

The police shall always place duty before self, should remain calm and good humoured whatever be the danger or provocation and should be ready to sacrifice their lives in protecting those of others.

Duty must come first. It must not be shirked because of hardship, personal inconvenience or dangers. It must not be avoided because there may be political pressures. The duty must be performed, because it is a very noble task which has been entrusted to the police by the people. If selfishness comes in the way, then the very fundamental ingredient of duty, particularly in case of police service, is destroyed.

Police work entails hard physical labour, often extreme mental

anxiety and performance of unpleasant tasks which may not immediately get public recognition. Police work requires absence for long periods from the family at a very short notice, even in circumstances of difficulties in the family itself. The delay in his arrival at any place may entail very serious dangers and sorrow to large numbers of people. Therefore, duty must always come first.

The policeman must not get frustrated or lose self-control in the face of dangers or provocations. Even when he is mentally anxious about particular developments, he must not betray his anxiety either by his appearance or by words. He must not show the slightest fear in the face of danger. If he does it, this fear will affect all the subordinates and members of the public who may have come there for his assistance.

No amount of provocation should affect his calmness and deflect him from his path of duty. Insults, abuses and even missiles should be faced with good humour without showing the slightest tendency of vengeance or annoyance. Such exhibition of calmness and good humour will on most occasions have a telling effect on the psychology of his opponents and the occasions when he will have to use force will be minimised. It is exhibition of such qualities which will secure for him leadership amongst the people, which should be natural to him. Only then he can establish close contacts amongst the people and get the best of co-operation from them.

And if the situation so develops that the policeman has to sacrifice his life in protecting those of others, he must be prepared to do so. It should be his supreme aim to make the final sacrifice for protecting the people. There is nothing new about it. Scores of policemen lay down their lives year after year in the performance of their duties. Readiness to make the supreme sacrifice at any time gives the policeman the strength to face all eventualities with courage and determination.

The police should always be courteous and well-mannered; they should be dependable and unattached; they should possess dignity and courage; and should cultivate character and the trust of the people.

These are the qualities which the people want to see in the police, because these are the qualities which must develop in society to keep the society going as a well-knit prosperous organisation.

Courtesy must be practised at all times. Courtesy comes from the heart. It has to be cultivated both in public and in private life. Harsh treatment even to a criminal is not justified by any canon of law. Courtesy develops nobility of character, which helps the policeman to get the love of the people.

Good manners go side by side with courtesy. If you are courteous, you cannot be bad-mannered; and if you are ill-mannered, you cannot be courteous. Good manners win friends, bad manners make enemies. And it is the aim of the police to win everybody as a friend. There is no justification for showing bad manners to anyone, not even to a prisoner who might have committed the worst offence.

The policeman must be dependable. Dependability rests on his punctuality, his accuracy, his ability to give undivided attention to a problem in hand, to come to the help of the people at all times, to be in time wherever his presence is necessary. These are all virtues which make a policeman dependable in the eyes of others. He must never betray trust. People entrust their lives and properties to him for safety and he must see that this trust is properly discharged.

He must be non-attached. Attachment to result, attachment to wealth and honour, attachment to pomp and show, these are all weaknesses in a man's character which lead to the path of evil. Non-attachment helps him to develop the proper balance and the power of discrimination between right and wrong and ensures that he always follows the right path and never tries the shortcut to success. Non-attachment is the ideal virtue which has been preached for ages and ages in all countries and by all religions, and policeman who must be the ideal man must cultivate this virtue of non-attachment.

The policeman must have dignity. Dignity comes from self-confidence and it is indicative of a policeman's appreciation of the

honour of his position. It is an excellent manifestation of his 'esprit de corps' and is a powerful factor in creating public respect. Dignity does not come by itself but is a product of character, integrity, self-confidence, ability and efficiency.

The policeman must have courage. The public assumes that the policemen are physically courageous. The mere fact that they are in the uniform of law-enforcement officers implies that they have courage. But reckless disregard of danger is not the real manifestation of courage and bravery. True courage is the state of devotion to duty even in the face of full knowledge of the dangers involved. The real courage that is required of policemen is moral courage, which enables a man to assume the responsibilities of his office and to stand up bravely for his convictions without attempting to shift blame or evade personal criticism. Moral courage comes with integrity and non-attachment.

The policeman must cultivate character. It is through character that he can gain moral ascendancy over the people. It arises out of practical self-control and the ability to withstand the hardships and vicissitudes of work. It comes from the recognition of the difference between right and wrong and the cultivation of the right path in all circumstances. Character comes from moral fortification, that is how a person has morally built himself up on the basis of a good and correct philosophy of life. A policeman without character will not get either the trust of the public or the co-operation of his fellow policemen.

The police must cultivate the trust of the people. Public trust is the foundation of all police work; and if this trust is not gained, no police work can be properly performed. Therefore, the cultivation of public trust is of the highest importance.

Integrity of the highest order is the fundamental basis of the prestige of the police. Recognising this, the police must keep their private lives scrupulously clean, develop self-restraint and be truthful and honest in thought and deed, in both personal and official life, so that the public may regard them as exemplary citizens.

Integrity is the highest qualification in not only the police but in all services. Integrity must be exercised in all circumstances and eventualities. All qualities flow from integrity. Non-attachment, moral courage, character, dignity, all these emanate from integrity. The honest police officer is a natural leader. People flock to him attracted by his qualities and give him their utmost trust knowing that they will never be betrayed. Integrity is the rock on which the foundation of the entire police work is based. Public trust, public confidence, public co-operation, all are earned by integrity.

Integrity has to be exercised not only in public life by the policeman but also in his private life. A policeman's life is always open to public scrutiny, and it is impossible for him to hide any of his shortcomings. Whatever he does even in private will be known to the people and the amount of respect or honour or confidence he will get will depend on how he conducts himself in private. If he is not scrupulously clean, if he does not develop self-restraint in his personal life, if he is not truthful and honest in all his actions and thoughts in his intercourse as a private citizen with others, all these will reflect on his standing as a police officer. A police officer cannot be a gentleman in public if he is a cad in private. The way he behaves in his private life also reflects on his behaviour as a public servant.

The police should recognise that they can enhance their utility to the administration and the country only by maintaining a high standard of discipline, unstinted obedience to the superiors and loyalty to the force and by keeping themselves in a state of constant training and preparedness.

Leadership depends not only on the ability to maintain discipline amongst one's subordinates but on the ability to subject oneself to discipline. Actually the ability to enforce discipline on others depends on how he himself reacts to discipline. An indisciplined policeman will have indisciplined subordinates and he will hardly be able to function.

Discipline requires unstinted obedience to all the legal orders

of the superiors. There should be no questioning of the correctness of the order for administrative reasons. Without this unstinted obedience, it will be impossible for the police to function as a unified force; and unity is essential because police in their day-to-day life face many dangers and difficulties which can be overcome only by their united effort.

The policeman must be loyal to the force. He must realise that co-operation is necessary in hundreds of ways from other members of the force if he has to perform his duty properly. Without this co-operation, he cannot succeed, and that co-operation comes if he exhibits proper 'esprit de corps' in his dealings with his comrades and shows his unflinching loyalty to the force.

Discipline, obedience and loyalty, these are essential in any force entrusted with the duty of enforcing law and order. The policeman must practise these throughout his career in service.

Police work requires versatility in his training. The policeman's intelligence must be so well trained that he is able to adapt himself to any situation. In any routine day a policeman may have to render first aid to an injured, trail and apprehend a criminal, assist in the prosecution of a case, advise people on correct behaviour and quell a disorder. He must have the training to meet all these demands made on him from various directions. The training must be continuous, and study and research should be basic in any training of the police. By training his vision will be enlarged and he will be able to size up things properly and apply the necessary correctives.

Even in the technical work of investigation of crime hard training is required. Without training, either the police will not be able to produce the result or they will adopt wrongful means to do so. In either case they lose public trust and their work will become more difficult.

Training should be a continuous process. The policeman's body should be trained for continuous hard physical work for long periods at a stretch even when living in adverse climates and conditions. His mind should be educated by training, so that he understands the social forces, their inter-relations and the best remedies.

He should be trained in the police techniques of prevention and investigation of crime and detection of criminals and of quelling disorders; and he must be trained to be able to handle every duty which he is asked to perform. He should also be trained in the sphere of public welfare, so that he can be of use to the injured and to the sick and he can help in fire, flood, epidemic and in all calamities.

The good policeman should be a lawyer, a doctor and an engineer. He must have the endurance of a long distance runner or swimmer or a mountain climber, the insight of the sociologist and the compassion and understanding of a father. By cultivation of these good qualities he will be able to produce a dynamic personality which will establish him as a proper example amongst the people.

The policeman must be always prepared. He must remain mentally and physically alert all the time. He must be ready to go out and face a situation whenever called, and even when in the field he should be able to foresee and tackle various developments simultaneously. He should never be too tired to move. He should never feel that the distances are too far for him to traverse or the difficulties too many for him to overcome. He must be prepared to take it on his chin with a smile when bad luck comes, and still, get on with his work. Mental and physical preparedness for the policeman is essential. There should be no sloth or indolence, either physical or mental, in him. And he must always be prepared to sacrifice his own interests, his comfort and safety and to sacrifice his life so that others may live peacefully.

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Power tends to corrupt and the greater the power, the greater the risk. The policeman has enormous powers and, in addition, he has got the power of the government behind him. So he has to be very careful not to misuse that power. No doubt democracy has devised many methods to control the power and authority not only of the members of the government but of individual government

servants. It has also encouraged public criticism so that no one can consider himself to be above the public.

It in spite of all these checks and controls, the fact remains that the power of the government is wielded by individual government servants, and amongst them the policeman comes most often in contact with the public in the exercise of that power. Therefore, it is the individual policeman who has to be improved, disciplined and inspired by an ideal so that power does not corrupt him—and this can only come from the exercise of self-control and self-discipline. As Pandit Nehru has said, "This self-control and self-discipline is the measure of the greatness of a nation or an individual. It is the weak and those who lack self-control who try to show their strength or impose their authority by improper behaviour".

Therefore, the policeman must guide himself by these principles of police conduct in the day to day execution of his work and in his contacts with the public. For that, he must discipline himself not only as a public servant but as a private person. These principles, if they are strictly adhered to, will help him to impose that restraint and discipline on himself which will cure him of all temptation to misuse his power. They will also help him understand properly the need of making himself fit in every way for the great trust which the public has reposed in him.

The Ideal Policeman

The policeman's origin goes back to the date when man emerged from his animalhood and learnt to think and reason. He exists in every thought of a person, in every action of his, and in everything that he does to live a civilised human life in society. He is present in the mother; he is present in the teacher; he is present in the priest; he is present in the administrator; he is present in the law-maker and also in the law-enforcer; ... the thread, which goes through every pearl in a necklace, he pervades everything.

The policeman will exist so long as man exists and lives a corporate life in a civilised society. All other services may go, but the policeman is eternal and will continue. The moment the policeman disappears, everything of essence in society will be lost, all humanising and uniting influences will go, and society will run into chaos. To society, he is the grammar which gives meaning to language and allows the highest thoughts to be expressed. Like grammar, which is present in every word that is uttered or written, he is present in every human being. Just as without grammar there will be only a jumble of sounds without any meaning, similarly without the policeman society will be a conglomeration of creatures without any sense of humanity or direction. He is the great unifying and humanising influence. He holds people together to form the society just as cement and mortar hold bricks together to form a building.

The policeman is the State, because he is inseparable from the State. The function of the State is police function, and the State can exist only by exercising its police functions. Without the policeman, the State will not be able to fulfil even the most elementary requirements. He enforces law, he maintains order, he

checks the transgressor so that the main stream of life may flow uninterruptedly.

The policeman must see everything. He must see in dazzling light and in utter darkness. He must see good traits in bad men and bad traits in men overtly good. Nothing must escape his eyes. He must always watch. He is the eternal watchman who must observe and register everything that passes before his eyes.

The policeman must do everything right. He must be a father and mother to the infants or orphans. He must be a teacher to the young. He must advise the grown up. He must nurse the sick, help the poor, cheer the afflicted. His appearance should bring a gleam of light and a ray of hope in the lives of even the most destitute and the forsaken.

The policeman must integrate and unite ; he must integrate people into a family; he must integrate families into communities; he must integrate communities into races; he must integrate races into nations; and nations into a world community. Without integrating and unifying influence, everything will fall apart.

The policeman must protect society. He must protect society just as a fence protects a garden. He is the embankment which holds back flood water of civil disorder. He must protect the State against all subversions and disruptions. He must protect good against evil, the weak against the strong, the poor against the oppressive rich. He must protect life. He must protect human rights and liberties, honour and religion. He must protect property. He must protect crops, gardens and forests. He must protect bridges and embankments. In short, he must protect everything good in man, and everything material that man has created by his constructive genius.

The police is the primary constitutional force which protects the individual in the enjoyment of his legal rights and represents law in all circumstances. The policeman stands as a bulwark against crime and disorder, vice and immorality and is a figure which no one can ignore. He shines luminously as an emblem of good citizenship ready at all times and places to maintain peace and freedom and

policeman stands brave, solid, impartial and reliable and inspires courage, confidence and affection. His very presence brings cheer to the good and dismay to the wicked. A good police system is as vital for the development of the society as are moral restraints for the growth of the individual. So important is the position of the police in the society that even the standard of a country and its government is judged by the quality of its police force because he is inseparable from both.

The influence which a good police system exerts on the very existence of democracy is immeasurable. Conversely no democracy can exist if the police system is not good.

Indeed, a policeman's role is a most noble one. His duty is to protect the good and destroy the evil. His symbol is "Good killing Evil". All his life as a policeman he must carry on a ceaseless fight for the establishment of good, for the protection of virtue and religion, and for the destruction of evil and sin. There can be no compromise in this fight between good and evil. He must be on the side of good everywhere, and at all times.

But, to do good, the policeman must himself be good. To be able to induce others to obey the laws of society, he must obey them first. With his example set before them, people will flock to his banner not only to seek his help and protection but also to assist him in his noble task. He must be the leader amongst men. This leadership he must earn by his integrity, kindness, character, steadfastness, dignity, ability and self-sacrifice. He must always set the right example.

The policeman must be the eternal sentinel standing at the crossroads of right and wrong, pointing the path to right and obstructing the path to wrong. He must show his fellow brethren the path in darkness. He should be the guide who will lead people by the hand over difficult and dangerous paths. If sometimes he is left alone, he should not be dismayed, he should go forward alone. Thus he will gain the respect, love and confidence of his fellow citizens—respect, love and confidence which are his due in the noble mission which he has undertaken in his life.

Views

I have read with great care the manuscript of the book 'A Philosophy for the Police'. It is an excellent book. It gives a working Philosophy for the police, in easy simple terms. It gives stature to policemen and makes their job worth doing. No book which I have read has made the philosophy so clear and understandable. This book will become a text-book for policemen not only in India but several other countries.

K.F. Rustamji

Director-General, Border Security Force.

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We have no book like this in the Police force in India and it should become a Bible for those policemen who want to go on the straight path. The author's testament to the Police force is meant for all the six lakhs of policemen. To gazetted ranks it will be a book from which they can quote frequently to press that the police should stick to clean methods whatever the temporary setbacks. The book should also be issued in the major Indian languages for the benefit of all lower ranks.

N.S. Saksena

Addl. I.G. of Police, Vigilance, U.P.

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This book is an excellent acquisition to world's literature. The author's name will go down to the posterity for this one work. This book proves that religion, philosophy and science can co-exist for the benefit of the people. For the first time the author has discovered what can be styled 'Applied Religion' in its truest sense. . . . It is an excellent original thesis based on the author's solid 'police life experience', inner mind revelation and self-realisation. . . . This book will be a guiding principle for the Police for whom the author worked and whom he leaves behind. For the quick recogni-

tion of the merits of this book, it should be presented in Europe and Africa.

Dr. P. Ghoshal
Criminologist, Calcutta.

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I have had the privilege of going through the book 'A Philosophy for the Police' written by Shri B.N. Mullik who is one of the outstanding Police Officers that this country has produced. Shri Mullik has in very lucid language explained the history of the development of civilisation and society and together with it the origin and development of the 'police'. He has very aptly remarked that "the very power which a Government exercises in order to maintain its existence and to regulate the life of the people according to the Constitution is the police power; and a State divested of its police functions can have no existence". Chapter IV of the book dealing with the difference between the "People's Police and Ruler-appointed Police" is of particular relevance in connection with the changes that are necessary in the outlook of our Police Force in order to suit the needs of a democratic society. The book also explains the part that the police should play in national integration and what means it should adopt generally in its work to achieve its ends. There are very useful chapters on 'Discipline and Leadership', 'Police Ethics' and 'Principles of Police Conduct'.

Shri B. N. Mullik has rendered great service to the Police Force by compiling this book. This is a book which I feel should be prescribed for study in the various Police Training Institutions and it should find a place in all police libraries.

Shanti Prasad,
Ex-Inspector General of Police, Uttar Pradesh

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A policeman being essentially a member of society, it is a mere truism that a good policeman should be a good man, but such are

the conditions of present day social thinking that a good policeman is very often accused of being too much of a gentleman as if these two states are mutually exclusive. Thus society generally expects its policemen to be less than gentlemen. A similar idea seems to be running through our police forces also. Ethical values are declining and there is a growing tendency to try for results without bothering over much about the means. That such an idea is based on confused thinking or on a lack of thinking or on an improper understanding of the policeman's role in society would be clear from Shri Mullik's reasoned arguments, both historical and philosophical. This work should make us ponder deeply on the problem of a good police force for our country.

• The police in our country have an unpleasant task to perform. Unfortunately, whatever antagonism the police acquired before independence, did not disappear with the gaining of independence; and even in the present India the police have to be extensively used to prevent breaches of peace and suppress violent disturbances which are often the result of political agitation. The police have no alternative but to face these agitations, but in this process further antagonism develops. So in modern India the police have an extremely difficult task.

Several police commissions have been set up in the States, but their recommendations have remained unimplemented because of the frightening magnitude of the problems these recommendations have exposed. Before any meaningful effort to tackle these problems can get under way, it will be necessary to understand the philosophy for the police, and this book makes a magnificent contribution towards such an understanding. Its study would be of immense benefit to all policemen who are looking for the fundamental basis of their work. It will help to reorientate their approach to their onerous and at many times unpleasant duties, and let us hope that it will also lead to a better understanding by the people of what they would expect from the police.

S.P. Varma,
Ex-Director, Intelligence Bureau.